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A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

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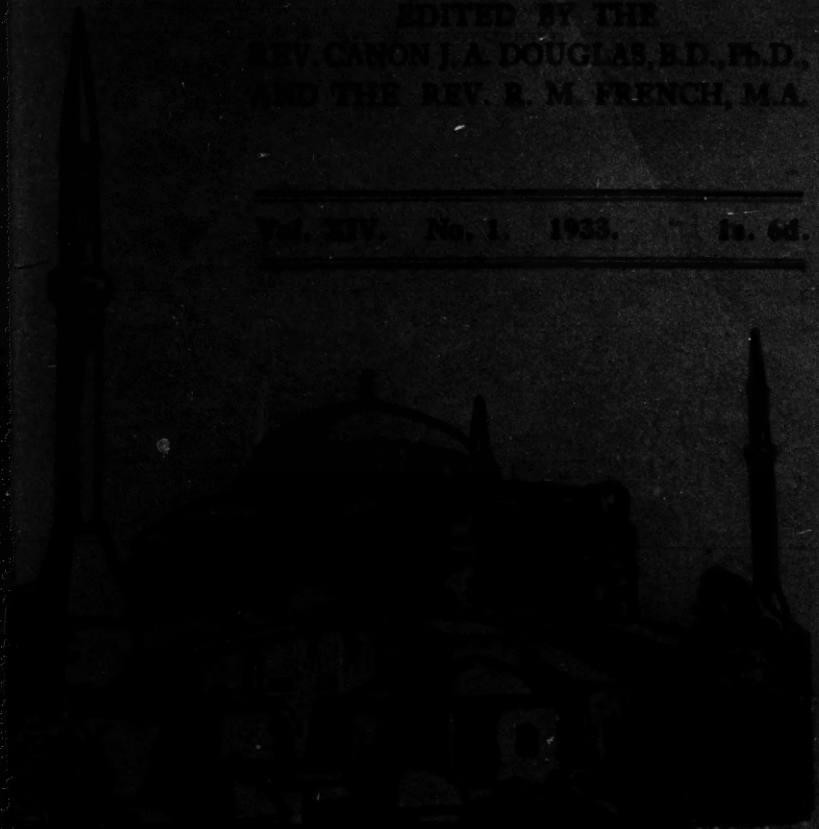

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CONTENTS.

COULD THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ACCEPT PROTESTANT MINISTRIES? By the Rev. WILLIAM H. DUNPHY 1

TOWARDS REUNION. By the METROPOLITAN GERMANOS 8

RUSSIAN MISSIONS: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Professor G. FLOROVSKY ... 30

A RUSSIAN WEEK-END ON MONTPARNASSE. By PAUL ANDERSON 42

PASTORAL OF BARNABAS, PATRIARCH OF SERBIA. By L. PATTERSON, D.D. ... 46

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The Christian East

COULD THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ACCEPT PROTESTANT MINISTRIES?

By The Revd. William H. Dunphy.

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In recent discussions on Christian reunion and the Apostolic Ministry, allusion has frequently been made to the passage of the famous Orthodox theologian, Dyovouniotes, to the effect that the Orthodox Church could accept in their orders even ministers who have not been canonically ordained (*e.g.*, Protestant ministers ?), without reordination, simply by the exercise of the Church's stewardship and by *Economia*. That this is Dyovouniotes' own teaching[1] seems clear; unhappily the impression has gone abroad, indeed it has been proclaimed from some theological chairs in this country as a certainty, that Dyovouniotes on this point is typical of Orthodox theologians and represents the general tradition of the Eastern Church. It has even been suggested in some quarters (*e.g.*, in connection with the South India Scheme) that the Anglican Church might take a leaf out of Orthodoxy's book and accept Protestant ministers by *Economia*, as clergy of the Church, with no further ordination.

I hope to show that Professor Dyovouniotes, in the passage above referred to, does not represent the general tradition of the Eastern Church; indeed, that in so teaching he stands almost alone among Orthodox theologians, and that it would be most unwise for us to take this erratic speculation of his as a precedent for our own sacramental theory or practice.

In the first place, the Eastern Church has always insisted on the absolute necessity of episcopal ordination and of apostolic succession. This is not simply her canonical practice, but also her dogmatic teaching. Khomiakov, " the father of modern Russian Orthodoxy,"

[1] *Ta hepta Mysteria*, pp. 162–5.

although very liberal-minded in many ways, is uncompromising on this point. In his *Tserkov odna* (" The Unity of the Church "), he states plainly the teaching of Orthodoxy: " If Ordination ceased, all the Sacraments except Baptism would also cease; and the human race would be torn away from grace; for the Church herself would then bear witness that Christ had departed from her."

He does not share the view that any community, having lost the apostolic succession, could originate its own ministry, or that presbyters (in the modern sense of the word) could truly ordain. " The right of laying on of hands in the sacramental sense does not belong to the faithful in general, it did not in the time of the Acts of the Apostles belong even to the preachers of the faith, however great their personal sanctity; it belonged only to the Apostles, just as later on it belonged only to the Bishops."[1] Where the apostolic succession has been maintained, so far as externals and right belief go, outside Orthodoxy, the Church can, by *Economia*, accept such orders (*e.g.*, Roman or Nestorian), but never does he hint that any non-episcopal ministry could possibly be accepted in this way.

The starting point of Khomiakov's conception of the ministry is, like that of the writer of Hebrews and Clement of Rome, the fact that the less is indisputably blessed by the greater, and not the other way around. " C'est pourquoi la plénitude des droits ecclésiastiques, confiée par le Christ à ses apôtres, s'est toujours trouvée au sommet de la hiérarchie, bénissant les grades inférieurs."[2] " Abolir l'épiscopat est chose impossible, car il est la plénitude des droits ecclésiastiques réunis dans un individu "—[Khomiakov would thus be undisturbed, if it should be definitely proved that the early " presbyter-bishops " ordained—indeed he says as much (pp. 148–9)] —" la confirmation et la bénédiction (car tel est le sens de l'ordination) n'appartiennent qu'à ceux qui ont eux-mêmes reçu cette bénédiction qui couronne toutes les autres, pour que l'Eglise ne se trouve pas infidèle au précepte apostolique, et pour que toutes les fonctions inférieures tirent leur source et leur sanctification de la fonction supérieure. Telle est la doctrine de l'Eglise par rapport à l'ordre épiscopal, dont les autres ordres clericaux ne sont que la conséquence " (p. 150). Thus the Bishops alone, like the Apostles of old, are the source of apostolic ordination, which is indispensable to the Church, and the Church and her ministry, like the Incarnation, are gifts from above, not an evolution from below. The Church, to quote Soloviev, is, like her Lord (the God-man), divinely human, not humanly divine.

This, then, according to the teaching of the greatest and most representative of modern Russian theologians, is " the *doctrine* of the Church." But the " Confession of Dositheus," the official and

[1] *L'Eglise Latine et le Protestantisme.*
[2] *Ibid*, p. 148.

synodical declaration of the Orthodox Faith set forth by the Council of Jerusalem, and given almost Œcumenical authority by the Greeks, is no less clear. "Episcopacy is so necessary that, if it were taken away, there would neither be Church nor Christian, nor even their name. . . . For the Bishop, being the successor of the Apostles, called to that office by imposition of hands and invocation of the Holy Spirit, having received by a continuous succession the power given by God to bind or loose, is the living image of God upon earth —the fount of all the sacraments. . . . This episcopacy seems to us as necessary to the Church as breath to a man, or the sun to the world."

The answer of the Synod of Constantinople to the Non-Jurors (1672) is equally clear. "The fountain and source of the Priesthood is no other than the Bishop . . . nor indeed can he be a Priest who is not called to the office by episcopal ordination."

The Patriarch Meletios, at Lambeth, expressly rejected the speculation of Dyovouniotes. The Bishop of Gloucester quoted the latter to the effect that the Church could, by *Economia*, recognize the Priesthood and Sacraments even where the Apostolic Succession had been lost. "The Patriarch replied that while it was true that the Church had power to reject the Priesthood of schismatics, it has no power to recognize Ordinations in Churches where the Apostolic Succession has been broken. He said that in the whole history of the Church there had been no example of such an Economy as that. Where the Priesthood of heretics possessing Orders with the Apostolic Succession had been recognized, it had been after thorough examination which in other instances had led to the requirement of reordination." [The painstaking investigation of Anglican Orders, as well on the historical as on the dogmatic side, is a good instance of this.] Economy, the Patriarch added, "could never be used where it clashed with the fundamental grounds of faith."[1] These words of the Patriarch are most weighty and authoritative, and ought to be decisive.

Nor is this teaching any innovation; quite the contrary. Macarius, in his *Théologie Orthodoxe*, points out that the Church does not repeat, but accepts, Orders "régulièrement [= validly] ministrés, même dans les sociétés hétérodoxes" [*e.g.*, Roman Catholic clerics], but that "l'Ordination administrée irrégulièrement et illégalement [*i.e.*, invalidly], comme cela se pratiquait chez les hérétiques, était reconnue comme inefficace par l'Eglise, qui statua de la suppléer par une nouvelle ordination légale." He gives various examples of ordinations which the Church could not accept and concludes: "Ainsi en use-t-elle de nos jours avec ceux qui lui reviennent du protestantisme. Au reste, à vrai dire, dans ce cas-là, le sacrément de l'Ordre n'est pas répéte, il est administré proprement

[1] *Report of the Joint Doctrinal Commission*, Appendix IV, p. 63, S.P.C.K., 1932.

pour la première fois, la première ordination n'ayant pas été véritable, mais seulement preténdue" (Vol. II, pp. 591–2).[1] That is, Protestant ministers having no ordination at all, there is nothing for Economy to work on, nothing to validate—they are laymen and must be received as such.

Coming down again to the present, Professor Komnenos (whose influence had much to do with the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1922) argues that Anglican clergy can be received as true priests by *Economia*, since "they have received not the semblance of ordination but an ordination which is real, and is based upon a most incontrovertible, humanly speaking, succession from the Apostles, upon its canonical transmission, and upon an essentially and fundamentally right conception of it." [I am making use of Dr. J. A. Douglas' excellent translation.] He adds that our Baptism is valid, and that "apparently the recognition of Baptism involves that of Ordination—in so far as the particular conditions necessary for it [specified above] are observed, *which conditions are not found among the followers of Luther and Calvin*,[2] but are found among the Anglicans." Thus this broad and liberal Orthodox writer cannot envisage recognition, even by a generous use of "economy," of a non-episcopal ministry. Androutsos (Δογματικη—391-3; and Συμβολ 330) seems equally clear in this regard, and Mesolora (Συμβολ: II 335-6) is emphatic that while "schismatics" may be received by *Economia*, all "heretics" must be reordained or rather ordained.

The Holy Synod of Constantinople, in recognizing Anglican Orders (1922) did so (1) because of the fact of the true ordination of Archbishop Parker, (2) because "in this ordination and those subsequent to it there are found in their fulness those orthodox and *indispensable* visible and sensible elements of valid episcopal consecration—namely the laying-on of hands and the *Epiklesis* of the All-Holy Spirit, and also the purpose to transmit the *charisma* of the *Episcopal Ministry*."[3]

The learned Dr. Demetry, in his *Orthodox Catechism* (Chicago, 1929), says that the Church can, by economy, accept episcopal orders where the Apostolic Succession is unbroken (Armenians, Anglicans, Romans, etc.), but not where this has been lost, as in the case of Protestants.[4]

[1] *Cf., Androutsos Symbolike*: Ως πρός τούς ἐκ τῶν Διαμαρτυρομένων ὅμως κληρικούς, εὑνόητον ὅτι οὔτοι οὔτε ἱερωσύνην λαβόντες οὔτε κανονικῶς κατασταθέντες, προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν ἀναχειροτονοῦνται ἢ μᾶλλον χειροτονοῦνται το πρῶτον, ἐὰν φέρωσι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἱεροσύνης προσόντα.—pp. 329-330.

[2] My italics.

[3] My italics.

[4] Τούς κληρικοὺς ὅμως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, ποῦ δέν ἀναγνωρίζουν τὴν Ἱερωσύνην ὡς Μυστήριον, ἢ ἔχουν τὴν Ἱεροσύνην διακοπεῖσαν, καὶ τούς κληρικούς, ποῦ χειροτονοῦνται ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Ὀρθοδόξου ἔστω, διατε-λοῦντος ὅμως ἐν τιμωσία καθαιρέσεως, τούς χειροτονεῖ, ὅταν προσέλθουν εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν διότι εἶναι τελείως ἀχειροτόνητοι, ὅπως τῶν Προτεσταντικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. (Κατήχησις, pp. 92-93).

Since Protestant ministers are "utterly unordained," there can be no question of recognizing them as anything else, even by the widest exercise of *Economia*.

Brilliant articles on the Church have been contributed by Professor Boulgakov, of the Russian Institute of Theological Studies, in Paris, to *The Christian East* and *Theology* in England, and to *The American Church Monthly* on the other side of the Atlantic. His teaching is especially lucid. According to him, the Church "distinguishes between a canonical continuity of priesthood or its absence outside Orthodoxy. In the first case, after reunion, the Church accepts a priest without reordination, whereas in the second case, this is not done. . . . The *absence* of such continuity in Protestantism cannot, in any way, be compensated by reunion. A Protestant pastor will always be a layman to Orthodoxy if he joins it. On the contrary, if a Roman Catholic hierarch joins Orthodoxy he is received without reordination . . . the Church at all times, as now, recognizes at least *potential* priesthood in schism, which receives its full *lawful* strength and jurisdiction through reunion with Orthodoxy. . . . But *ex nihilo nihil fit*, as obviously follows from the relationship of the Church to denominations which have lost their continuity of priesthood."[1]

"Continuity of apostolic succession does not in itself suffice for canonical appointment. However, it is also obvious that the *absence* of such a succession excludes the possibility of ordination. Uncanonical ordinations are not bound to be recognized by the Church; in the absence of such ordinations, nevertheless, the Church can, in no case, and under no circumstances accept such priesthood. Neither the present-day Ukrainian 'self-hallowers,' nor different kinds of sectarian priests, or Protestant pastors, in any kind of circumstances can ever be recognized as priests, because even the authority of the Church has its natural boundaries and cannot make the non-existent, existent. In this lies the immense difference between the *objective* position of all sorts of 'self-hallowers' and those ordained—that is, the ineffective hierarchy, if certain conditions are present, becomes valid without reordination; such a possibility exists here. It is true that the Church likewise has the right of ***not recognizing*** a false hierarchy, in spite of all the incontestability of its apostolic succession—in the same way as she did not recognize the hierarchy of all sorts of heretical and schismatic communities. But the Church also can, after reunion, accept these without reordination, which she cannot do with the unordained. Acceptance or non-acceptance at reunion is within the power of the Church, which is here guided by considerations of so-called Church 'economy'—that is, the practical wisdom and good of the Church. By accepting into

[1] "Outlines of Teaching About the Church," by Sergius Boulgakov (*The American Church Monthly*, Vol. XXX, No. 6, pp. 420–422).

the existing order the Church fills the insufficiency, gives power to the ineffective, imparts grace to that which lacked grace."[1]

Fr. Boulgakov's articles in the Russian magazine *Put* (the "Way") are equally to the point and his threefold classification of ministries —(1) those valid in the strict sense, possessing both "actuality" and "power" [the Orthodox hierarchy]; (2) hierarchies outside the Church, possessing a true apostolical succession, which suffer a "paralysis" (though not a nullification) until reconciliation with, and acceptance by, the Church [Romans, Nestorians, and probably Anglicans]; and (3) those which are utterly null and void, beyond any possibility of Economic validation [Protestants, etc.]. simply makes clear and explicit what has always been plainly implied in the doctrine and practice of Orthodoxy.

I have been assuming throughout that Dyovouniotes, in the passage in question, intends to assert that the Church could by *Economia* recognize any and every kind of ministry outside herself, *e.g.*, those of Protestantism. He does not, however, absolutely say this, and he elsewhere insists on the necessity of a right faith, especially as regards the Sacrament of Ordination, and as he uses the word "canonically" rather loosely in several different senses (sometimes more or less akin to the western term "regularly"), it may be that he has reference to such sects as the priestly "Old Believers" with the Bosnian succession,[2] derived from one Bishop, which the Orthodox Church does not recognize as valid, but which, perhaps, by an extreme extension of *Economia*, could be validated. When he speaks of the loss of a "canonical" and "apostolical" succession, he may mean no more than this. This interpretation, which I submit tentatively, seems to receive some confirmation both from the ultra-rigid views of Dyovouniotes as to what constitutes "canonical validity"[3] and from the fact that he proceeds directly to speak of "the explanation of the Church's action," *i.e.*, he is seeking a *rationale* of the actual practice of the Church, which, as we have seen, and as he must know, has never accepted non-episcopal ordination even by συγκατάβασις. In any case, whatever his meaning,[4] there is, I believe, not another Orthodox theologian of any standing who asserts the power of the Church to do what even Almighty God cannot do—blot out and reverse the past, turn her back on history, and make a non-existent succession existent.

A few words on the *rationale* of Economy may not be amiss. I suppose the nearest equivalent we have in the West is the effect of Baptism on the marriage of the unbaptized. The latter is, of

[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 17.
[2] Or possibly such orders as those of the Swedish Church.
[3] Also from his insistence upon the necessity of proving the canonicity of Archbishop Parker's consecration before recognizing Anglican Orders.
[4] Dyovouniotes himself mentions other views on Economy, at variance with his own, held by Orthodox theologians.

course, not sacramental; yet if the parties are converted and baptized they do not need to marry again—the marriage becomes automatically sacramental (though they may, if they wish, have another ceremony). This analogy is used by Khomiakov in one of his letters to William Palmer, the famous Phil-Orthodox Tractarian. It should be noticed, however, that not every kind of union becomes sacramental through Baptism and entry into the Church, but only a true marriage. A temporary liaison or a " companionate marriage," *à la* Judge Lindsey or Bertrand Russell, would certainly not be validated or made sacramental in this way. So, too, in the exercise of *Economia*, apparently, only such Orders and Sacraments can be validated, as would, if performed *within* the Church (perhaps in emergency) be valid under similar circumstances. To have electric light in one's home, it is necessary not only to have the house wired, but to have the current flow from the power-house. If the current, for any reason, is shut off, the wires themselves will supply neither light nor power—such is the case with hierarchies of Apostolic Succession outside the Church. If the current is turned on again the house need not be rewired—unless the wires have fallen into such a state of disrepair meanwhile as to be useless. But the presence and activity of the power-house, likewise, will supply electricity only to the houses which are properly wired. Both factors are necessary —the wiring equipment (Apostolic Succession) and vital contact with the power-house (the Church). This crude illustration may, I trust, be pardoned, as an endeavour to make clear a conception which, to Westerns, is difficult to grasp.

I think that I have said enough to prove conclusively, from representative theologians and Councils of the Orthodox Church, that she could never, by the farthest stretch of οἰκονομία and συγκατάβασις accept non-episcopal ministries. The absolute necessity of an unbroken Apostolic Succession through the Episcopate together with a true (sacramental) conception of it, is maintained by her, without wavering or compromise, alike in her canonical practice and in her dogmatic teaching. Economy cannot be used where it would conflict with the latter.[1] We shall be wise if we do not risk the further dilution—or even destruction—of our Catholicity by acting on a conclusion the premises of which are most precarious.

[1] Or even appear to conflict. See the instructive article by Dr. J. A. Douglas in *Theology*, January, 1932.

TOWARDS REUNION.

By The Metropolitan Germanos.

(*Being the substance of two Lectures delivered during the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, 1933).

NEW impetus was undoubtedly given to the work of the reunion of Christendom by the famous appeal to the Christian World made by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. That appeal was, of course, addressed to all the Churches of Christ. If, however, it met with specially favourable attention from the Eastern Orthodox Church, the fact is due to the suitable preparation for it made by the Delegation of the Œcumenical Patriarchate which was present at that Conference. That is why from that moment began the new phase which was entered by our two Churches, the Anglican and the Orthodox, as a result of which their relations from being friendly became brotherly, as His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has called them. The last manifestation of this phase has been the two meetings between representatives of the Churches, held at Lambeth in 1930 and 1931. In touching upon these discussions I cannot but bear in mind the official documents which we finally agreed to sign and publish; but I shall not confine myself to these. For a short while I shall draw the curtain aside and show you the obstacles, the dangers, the fears and the hopes which went side by side with the work, and to stress the necessity of intensive prayer and work for the success of the blessed task of re-union of our two Churches.

The Two Lambeth Meetings of Orthodox and Anglicans.

Although none of the participants in those discussions was at any moment deluded by the idea that he had come to sign the Terms of Reunion between the two Churches, yet all knew that the discussions had an official character. Thanks to the happy initiative of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the willing co-operation of the Head of the Orthodox Church, the Œcumenical Patriarch, all the Orthodox Churches were represented with the exception of the Church of Russia, which is still struggling on the path of martyrdom. At the first meeting the Anglican Communion was more widely represented owing to the presence in London of Bishops from all sections of the Anglican world, for the purpose of the Lambeth Conference. But even at the second meeting it was

possible to have the representation of other Anglican Churches together with that of the Church of England, in order that on this point also the similarity between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches might be demonstrated. This similarity consists in this, that the whole structure of each is formed by a group of autokephalous Churches bound together by the ties of common faith and admitting the primacy of one among themselves. Care was taken that the Anglican Church should at the meetings be represented by delegates belonging not to one, but to all schools of thought in the Church, in order that the Orthodox taking part in these discussions might readily perceive the internal state of the Anglican Church.

A—The First Meeting and the Subjects Discussed.

As there was no pre-arranged programme of work, the discussions at this first meeting of necessity turned on subjects about which each side had shown particular interest. This interest was not the same on both sides. The Orthodox had from the beginning regarded reunion with the Anglican Church as the object, though remote, of the discussions and therefore had desired to ascertain its views on fundamental dogmatic questions about which they were unable to form an exact opinion from the written documents. The Anglicans, on the other hand, had a more immediate object in view, that is, inter-communion by economy between the two Churches—in other words the official ratification of a procedure followed unofficially and in exceptional circumstances where there is no priest of the one or the other Church. Thus they turned their attention more to questions of a practical nature. What were the questions discussed ?

1. " Who is the highest arbiter in questions of faith ? " was the first question put by the Orthodox. They came to put it since by reason of the established character of the Church of England the view prevails among many Orthodox that on questions of faith it is not the Church but the State which has the last word. The Orthodox wished to ascertain whether the principle prevailing in the Orthodox Church—by which any questions of faith arising are solved by Synods of Bishops, whether local or œcumenical—holds good among the Anglicans also, irrespective of the different composition of the authorities governing the local Anglican Churches. The reply given that on questions of doctrine in the Anglican Church, also the last word belongs to the Bishops in Synod, was regarded as being satisfactory in principle. But the additional remark that the validity of general decisions is only final when these decisions are accepted by the local Churches, evidently shows that the speaker had in mind not an Œcumenical Synod, as it is understood by the

Orthodox Church, that is, a Synod having its validity in itself, but a Meeting of Bishops, such as the Lambeth Conference, whose decisions are not obligatory, but optional, for each local Church. Agreement was also reached on this point that the local General Synods of the Anglicans include laymen also, as a purely advisory body. For although in the Orthodox Church there are no organized bodies of laymen collaborating with the Clergy in matters regarding the faith, yet the idea of an advisory opinion from the laymen is not in practice unknown, since history records cases of devout laymen speaking before Œcumenical Synods on questions of faith.

2. The second question: "How, and by whom, is the person, who teaches things contrary to the faith of the Church, tried in the Anglican Church?" gave the Anglicans an opportunity to record the excessive tolerance prevalent in their Church, and the customary recourse in such circumstances to public discussions and private admonitions rather than judicial processes. From the examples adduced, however, it was shown that appropriate courts exist in every Anglican Church, although these are not everywhere constituted of clergymen or bishops, and in some of the Churches the decisions of the Courts require State approval before being enforced. The Orthodox recognize the Church's authority in matters of faith as absolute and consequently their ecclesiastical courts are composed of clergymen, and, according to their standing, the courts may proceed to impose the penalties laid down by the Canons.

3. The third question put by the Orthodox was undoubtedly far more important: "Whether the Anglicans recognize the priesthood as a 'mystery,' and Apostolic succession as necessary?" It is well known that some of the Orthodox Churches, foremost among which is the Œcumenical Patriarchate, have recognized the validity of Anglican orders. Others, however, have so far hesitated to do so. To remove these hesitations the Orthodox sought explanations of the above two points. If we bear in mind that the Anglican Communion accepts only two mysteries, Baptism and Holy Communion, as being in the main the mysteries necessary for Salvation, it was inevitable that the Priesthood would not be classed by the Anglicans among the mysteries coming under a special or foremost category. But the wider significance of the term "mystery" as designating a visible sign by which Divine Grace is granted, made it easy to place the priesthood in the so-to-speak second category of mysteries. Moreover the exposition of the relevant directions in the Prayer Book with regard to the ordination of Priest and Bishop, which testify to the special granting of the Holy Spirit at the moment of ordination, dispelled the suspicions to which the 39 Articles gave rise in the minds of the Orthodox that the Priesthood is not a mystery among the

Anglicans. Above all the declaration made by the leader of the Anglican delegation that, in the event of a divergence between the Articles and the Prayer Book, the authority of the Articles must be subordinated to that of the Prayer Book, could not but create a particular impression on the Orthodox who are accustomed to make no distinction of authority between the two.

Agreement between the two sides was even fuller on the second point—Apostolic succession. As is well known, the Orthodox Church clings immovably to the belief that no one may assume the clerical office unless he be ordained, if a deacon or presbyter by a Bishop, if a Bishop by more than one Bishop. Likewise it believes that its priesthood traces its origin to the Apostles by virtue of successive ordination beginning with the Apostles and coming down to our times. The declarations made by the Anglicans that their Church has always diligently observed the Apostolic succession, since it considers that it forms a link with the Apostles, and that ordination is performed in accordance with the directions of the Ordinal as in the Orthodox Church, removed any suspicion that the Apostolic succession had been interrupted in the Anglican Church. But since this is the view held by the Anglicans with regard to the importance of Apostolic succession, the Orthodox were unable to understand how the Bishops who met at Lambeth in 1920 yielded to such an extent towards the ministry—not ordained by Bishops—of the Free Churches and towards the Swedish Church, which is admittedly Lutheran and does not accept the three Orders of Clergy as do the Orthodox and the Anglicans.

The explanation given that, on reunion with the Nonconformists being achieved, the introduction of the Episcopate into the united Church would be laid down as an essential condition did not satisfy the Orthodox. For it was immediately followed by a statement that re-ordination by Bishops would not be required, as it is required at the present moment in isolated cases of Protestant clergy entering the Anglican Church. Nor was the fact of Inter-communion with the Swedish Church controverted.

But the Anglicans took advantage of the Patriarch of Alexandria's characterisation of their attitude to the Nonconformists, as being parallel to the "Economy" which is a feature of the Orthodox Church, to seek enlightenment as to how they should regard this "Economy." And although neither the significance nor the terms of "Economy" are officially established in the Orthodox Church, yet the Orthodox present were agreed that "Economy is a deviation from the strict interpretation of the canons made in certain circumstances where greater advantage thereby accrues to the Church, the fundamental principles of the faith being none the less preserved." The personal opinion of Professor Diovouniotis that this deviation can extend even to the recognition of the orders of heretics and schismatics,

among whom the apostolic succession has been interrupted, as canonical, was not supported by the Orthodox representatives inasmuch as the history of the Orthodox Church has no such example. Since, however, even after this meeting Professor Diovouniotis' opinion was repeatedly invoked as though it were the opinion of the whole Orthodox Church, I must point out that it is a question of a purely individual opinion, by which the Professor sought to extol the wide use of "Economy" made by the Church in cases where great numbers of heretics enter its ranks, but did not mean to say that the Church recognizes the validity of non-episcopal orders, considered in themselves. The Anglican Church, however, does do so, seeing that, in the words of the Appeal, "it in no way places in doubt the spiritual reality of the Ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate." In other words, it accepts the core of their ministry, which is their utilization as a medium of the grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereby reduces the laying of hands on ordinands by Bishops to the level of an external form. It is manifest that this facilitates intercommunion with the Protestants about which we have recently heard so much. Subsequent events have confirmed this, as also has the decision taken lately by the Church Assembly regarding intercommunion with members of the Free Churches, where it has the sanction of the Bishop.

4. "The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist and its character as a Sacrifice," was the fourth of the subjects put forward for discussion by the Orthodox. The teaching of the Orthodox Church regarding the Real Presence is based on the teaching of the ancient undivided Church and may be summarized as follows :—

After the consecration of the Holy Gifts which is affected by the celebrant invoking the Holy Spirit and blessing the Gifts, the Bread and Wine of the oblation are transmuted or transformed into the very Body and the very Blood of our Lord. Consequently, after the consecration they are called neither gifts nor elements, but only the Body and Blood of Christ. As regards the manner in which this transmutation or transformation takes place, the Orthodox Church refuses to busy itself with this question, but teaches that it surpasses human understanding and constitutes a miracle similar to the one by which our Lord in Cana turned the water into wine. And that they are the Body and Blood of Christ, after consecration in themselves, that is, independently of the person partaking of them, is shown by the agreed practice in the East according to which the priest reverently preserves the Body and Blood of the Communion in order to administer it to those of the faithful who are sick or in other exceptional necessity. And while it is true that Orthodox theology adopted and utilized the term "transubstantiation." from

Roman theology, yet it never quibbled over the philosophic distinction between "form" and "substance," which underlies this term, much less did it accept the vulgar materialistic conception of the Presence, since our Lord is present in the Sacrament in his glorious body. The eagerness of Orthodox theologians to introduce terms and explanations borrowed from Roman theologians, which is to be noted in the XVIIth century, is explained by the desire to repel Protestantism in general, and in particular the Calvinist conception which threatened to penetrate the Orthodox East through the Calvinist Confession of Cyril Lucaris and through his followers who had been influenced by it. From the moment, however, that that danger had been dispelled, modern Orthodox theology returned to the terms which had been in use in the ancient undivided Church and thus stands devout and silent before the mystery of the transmutation. In the face of this clear, single teaching of the Orthodox, the Anglicans were not entirely successful in persuading them, by extracts from the "Catechism," the "39 Articles" and the "prayers" of the Anglican services, that these extracts cannot be interpreted as also signifying the subjective partaking by the believer of the Body and Blood of Christ rather than their actual Presence independently of the communicant. Hence arose the question which was put on behalf of the Orthodox by the Patriarch of Alexandria—whether the Anglicans admit that the consecrated elements which remain after the Holy Communion continue to be regarded as the Body and Blood of Christ. The emphatic answer given by the Bishop of Gloucester was listened to by the Orthodox with joy as it removed the doubts to which a reading of the extract supplied may give rise. Consequently, amazement was created by the fact that in the Committee's Report submitted to the Conference instead of the plain words, "Body and Blood of Christ," as they occur in the "Proceedings," the words "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" are used, and in explanation it is added "that they have the same efficacy as before the administration," which would have been superfluous if the compilers of the report had plainly accepted, as do the Orthodox, that these are the Body and Blood of Christ. The conclusions to which a little later the discussion held among Anglican theologians on the Holy Eucharist arrived, and the recognition of the possibility of more than one interpretation of the Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord, provide the key that explains the fear entertained lest an exact phraseology excludes the possibility of embracing within it more than one opinion.

The declarations made by the Anglicans on the second point, that is, the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrifice were based chiefly on the answer given by the two English Archbishops to Pope Leo XIII. and where favourably received by the Orthodox. For the Anglicans also stress the point that the Sacrifice offered on the Holy Altar is

not a repetition of that Sacrifice which was once offered on Golgotha, but is the very offering of that Sacrifice made for the remission of sins and for the good of the whole Church in lasting memory of our Lord's death for the redemption of mankind. By regarding the Eucharistic Sacrifice as one with that made on Golgotha, and without ignoring the belief that our Lord offered himself as a sacrifice, once and for all time, we may explain the blessings granted through such Sacrifices, of which the first is the remission of sins, as emanating from it. And although in the Archbishop's letter it is stated that the Holy Eucharist is offered as a sacrifice for the remission of sins, the Orthodox wished to have a further assurance that the Anglicans agree that it is offered on behalf of the living and the dead. After explaining the hesitation shown by the Anglican Church after the Reformation in praying for the dead, the Bishop of Gloucester added that the words in the Prayer of oblation, " that we and all Thy Whole Church may obtain remission of our sins " include the whole company of faithful people, living and departed. The assurance of the fact that prayers for the dead form a practice of the Anglican Church and, in particular, the extract from the Prayer for the Dead of the Episcopalian Church of America, " accept our prayers on behalf of the soul of Thy servant departed and grant him an entrance into the land of light and joy," satisfied the Orthodox. Since, however, in their view the whole phraseology of the Prayers shows some reservation, the Patriarch of Alexandria expressed the wish that the Lambeth Conference should proceed to a formal declaration regarding the teaching in general of the Anglicans on the points discussed, in order that those who had not taken part in the discussions might form a clearer idea of the views exchanged. But the Lambeth Conference not having come together, as it stated (Resol. 33. *c.*), as a Synod to define teaching, refrained from making such a formal statement on the subjects referred to in the résumé and contented itself with declaring that it accepts the pronouncement made by the Anglican Bishops as a sufficient account of the teaching and practice of the Church of England.

5. The discussion about dogmatic questions was in the main closed with the subject of the Holy Eucharist. The questions of a practical nature discussed were two in number. The question of intercommunion between the two Churches where there is no priest of one or other of the Churches, and the question of unification of administration in the Orthodox Churches in America. In the course of the discussion on the first question the Orthodox insisted that, whereas an agreement is possible from an Orthodox point of view in so far as Baptism and Marriage are concerned, the Holy Eucharist can only be administered by priests of one Church to

members of the same Church. It was stated that the reception of Anglicans into the Orthodox Communion, of which recent examples were cited, did not meet with the unanimous approval of the Orthodox. As regards the practice by which Orthodox receive Communion from Anglican priests, where there is no Orthodox priest, as happens in certain parts of America or elsewhere, the Orthodox representatives reserved this question, as not being within their competence, for consideration by the Pro-Synod which is to be called together, and contented themseves with accepting the continuance of the present practice as long as no Orthodox authority forbids it. As for the second question, an entirely inter-Orthodox one, it was mentioned that this, too, would be settled at the coming Orthodox Pro-Synod. Inasmuch as the Orthodox in America are actually under Bishops, each one of whom recognizes as his superior authority that Church to which by nationality and origin he and his flock belong, any questions arising have to be referred either to the head of the appropriate Church in the East or to the Œcumencial Patriarch. Thus ended the first meeting of Anglicans and Orthodox, at which agreement between the two Churches on important questions was registered and the way opened to further discussions and wider agreement. But this brings us to the second meeting of Anglicans and Orthodox at Lambeth.

B—The Second Meeting and the subjects discussed at it.

Whereas at the first meeting, as we noted, the discussion turned on subjects which were raised at the moment by one or other of the discussing parties, the programme of the second meeting had already been arranged at the first. Its subject-matter was the Terms of Intercommunion, which had been compiled by the Archbishop's Committee on the Eastern Churches, and duly forwarded to the Œcumenical Patriarch ; on account, however, of the circumstances in which the Œcumenical Patriarchate found itself at that time, they had not been circulated to the Orthodox Churches, just as they had not been communicated by the Archbishop to the various Churches of the Anglican Communion.

When the question of these Terms arose at the first meeting, on the one hand the Anglicans declared that they express the spirit and teaching of the Anglican Church, while on the other, the Patriarch of Alexandria showed that they can form the basis for discussions with the Orthodox with some amendments. The result of this agreement was the appointment by the Archbishop of representatives of the Anglican Church in accordance with the decision of the Lambeth Conference, and also an invitation forwarded to the Œcumenical Patriarch to appoint representatives of the

Orthodox Church in order to establish a Joint Doctrinal Commission to prepare a statement on the theological points about which there is difference or agreement between the Anglicans and the Eastern Orthodox Church. As is shown by the designation of the Committee as doctrinal, its object was to deal mainly with dogmatic questions, seeing that the Terms which were the underlying basis of the discussions were by their nature dogmatic. But the shortness of the time at its disposal did not permit of its dealing thoroughly with the whole of the Terms, much less of adding other points to be examined. But although the points discussed were few in number, they afforded ample material for the compilation of a joint report to show the existing agreement or difference between the two Churches on the points discussed, as also of a résumé of the Proceedings of the joint Doctrinal Commission. The points discussed were the following :

1. "*The Christian Revelation.*" The first of the Terms presupposed that we accept the Divine Revelation as it is taught in the Holy Gospel, as we have received it in the Creed of the Ancient Church and as it was expounded in the dogmatic decisions of the Œcumenical Synods of the undivided Church. The first thing which the Orthodox missed in the phrasing of this Term, was any mention of the Church and of the Mission which it has as guardian of the Divine Revelation handed down to it, as the expositor and teacher of this Revelation to the faithful to this day. Independently of the question whether the Bible contains the whole of Revelation or not—since this was to be discussed later when they came to the question of Gospel and Tradition—the Orthodox were unable, on an historical examination of the question, to admit that the Christian Revelation, that is, the totality of its truths and facts, was included in the Creed of the Ancient Church or was expounded by its Œcumenical Synods. They hold the view that just as external circumstances brought about the compilation of the books of the Bible without the purpose of including the whole of Revelation, so, too, the Church, by expounding it in the Creed or interpreting it in the decisions of the Œcumenical Synods, did not expound or interpret the whole of Revelation, but only that part of it which was called in question by the Heretics.

According to the Orthodox view, therefore, the interpretative or dogmatic activity of the Church, is not exhausted in the above records but can continue to operate on other points of Revelation if necessary. But this activity, functioning under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is not independent, but bases itself on the sources of Divine Revelation, the Bible and Tradition. Consequently the Orthodox Church accepts only so much of the so-called dogmatic development as suffices for the interpretation of the Divine Revelation and its

expression in the circumstances that may arise, but rejects any evolution that alters the contents of the traditional Revelation, and consequently that makes innovation, or introduces new teachings, as does the Roman Church in distinguishing between implicit and explicit dogmas. Hence whatever the Orthodox Church to-day teaches is not only such Revelation as was expounded in the ancient Church, but also the whole content of Revelation, the one part of it in the form it assumed by Synodical decisions, the other on the basis of its sources, the Bible and Tradition. These Orthodox view-points were expressed in an amendment to the Term proposed, and the subsequent agreement reached regarding a joint Term " on Divine Revelation " was the result of a long discussion.

It exalts our Lord Jesus Christ as the bringer of Revelation, and as the source from which we draw the revealed truths, the Holy Bible and the Apostolic Tradition, which, by the aid of the Holy Spirit has been maintained in the Church throughout the centuries. Thus the unique position occupied by the Holy Bible in the transmission of Revelation, for which the Anglicans strove, was preserved, but at the same time due recognition was afforded to the importance (upheld by the Orthodox) of Apostolic Tradition as maintained in the Church through the medium of the Holy Ghost.

2. " *Holy Scripture and Tradition.*" But whilst the disagreement that arose over the first Term was easily overcome and full accord was reached regarding the Canon of Holy Scripture, of which the second Term treated, it did not prove possible to surmount all the difficulties which presented themselves in the phrasing of the third of the Terms " of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture." In the first place the wording of the title gave rise to objections on the part of the Orthodox, on the grounds that it entirely leaves out of account the Orthodox view of the importance of Apostolic Tradition, and it was therefore agreed that the second and third Terms should be combined under the title, " Holy Scripture and Tradition." The Orthodox are, of course, aware of, and respect, the reasons for which the Anglican Church insists, both in the 39 Articles of Religion (VI and XX) and in the Form of Ordination of Bishops and Priests, on confining the Divine Revelation within the limits of Holy Scripture, just as they are not unmindful of the fact that the Roman Church drew from Tradition many of the innovations and practices with which, after the schism of East and West, it exerted pressure on the consciences of the faithful and exploited them. But the abuse of this Tradition does not remove its use. The fact that a Church was found abusing the purposes of Apostolic Tradition does not mean that that Tradition must, in consequence, be sacrificed, and with it the smallest particle of Divine Revelation. We Orthodox hold that the preaching of the Gospel, in other words the truths of Revelation, were in the

beginning handed by the Apostles to the Church by word of mouth, that external reasons called for the compilation of the Gospels and the writing of the Epistles, that for many generations the Church lived as a whole, functioned and disseminated the Christian faith without any common written record, that even after the appearance of the Gospels, oral tradition was a source of truth and a weapon to defend it in the Church, in short, not the Church for Scripture, but Scripture for the Church. Moreover, none of the Orthodox denies that Divine Providence granted that the greatest part of Divine Revelation should be included in the Holy Canon which the Church drew up, establishing whatever was apocryphal on the basis of the Tradition that existed in it and was preserved through the Holy Spirit, but none would admit that after the drawing up of the Canon, Tradition became superfluous or unbeneficial. Those who maintain that God desired that Tradition should be the source of Revelation only until the establishment of the Canon, but that afterwards God's will altered with the result that to-day its only source is Holy Scripture, are, in our opinion, attempting to probe the inscrutable purpose of God, and for ourselves we are not able to follow them in this.

And if some of the Fathers in attacking arbitrary errors that have no support from Holy Scripture, demand of the Heretics that they should prove the truth of their ways by Holy Scripture and stress the importance of it in proving the truth, as does St. Athanasius, there are others, as for instance St. Basil, who base the faith of the Church on both these—Holy Scripture and Tradition. It is precisely the fear lest perchance some element of Revelation is not included in Holy Scripture, but is preserved in Apostolic Tradition, that led the Orthodox to formulate that Holy Scripture is supplemented by Apostolic Tradition. In spite however of this radical difference in principle between the two views, which is in part explained by the categorical expressions regarding the question used by the Anglican Churches, we must admit that agreement between the two parties was greatly facilitated by the recognition of the utility of Tradition, given by the Anglicans on the strength of what is said regarding Tradition in the Catechism of Philaret of Moscow. For they accepted the view that Tradition is a guide to the understanding of Holy Scripture, to a proper celebration of the Mysteries and to the maintenance of customs and practices in their original purity. But they insisted that only Holy Scripture contains whatever is necessary for Salvation.

Hence it was deemed indispensable that in the joint Report the two view-points should be recorded side by side—the Anglican and the Orthodox, the former accepting that whatever is necessary for salvation is contained in Holy Scripture, the latter that Tradition not only illuminates and expounds Holy Scriptures, but also supple-

ments it in those points also which are necessary for Salvation. After the recording of these two varying view-points, further discussions ended in agreement between the two parties on the following three points :—

A. It was agreed that the source of Revelation in those matters which are necessary for salvation, is Holy Scripture, but that Holy Scripture must be supplemented, illuminated and expounded by Holy Tradition. By the formulation of this view the pre-eminent importance of Holy Scripture as the source of Divine Revelation was maintained, but recognition was shown of the necessity that in matters necessary for salvation it should be not merely illuminated and interpreted, but also supplemented by Tradition. What was particularly welcomed by the Orthodox was the reference at this point to the Church as interpreting the meaning of Holy Scripture and Tradition, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit which dwells in it and leads it to all truth.

B. The meaning of Tradition was jointly established. Tradition embraces the truths, which, having their origin in our Lord and His Apostles, have come down to us from the Fathers of the Church, have been continuously and unanimously confessed in the undivided Church, and taught by the Church with the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In this way it was recognized that Tradition does not in the main signify customs, practices or ceremonies having an Apostolic origin, but truths ; and it was established that to discover this unbroken and unanimous Tradition we must turn to the Fathers of the undivided Church. As far as we know it was the first occasion since the time of the leaders of the Oxford Movement (who sought the standards of the teaching of the Anglican Church in that of the ancient united Catholic Church) that Anglicans of all the schools of thought thus officially recognized the importance of the Tradition of the undivided Church.

C. Inasmuch as the Orthodox accept that true Apostolic Tradition, in the same way as Holy Scripture is part of one and the same Divine Revelation, they felt no difficulty in agreeing with the Anglicans that there can be no opposition between these two. Tradition that is opposed to Holy Scripture cannot be true Tradition. But Scripture and Tradition, as parts of the same Revelation, although logically distinguishable, form essentially one whole and cannot be divorced from one another, nor be conceived as distinct from the Church, which is appointed the guardian and teacher of the Divine Revelation, which is contained in them. Thus through the agreement reached in these three points, even if the original disagreement between the two views was not entirely

removed, its extent, at any rate, was greatly reduced, so that it need no longer be regarded as an insuperable obstacle to *rapprochement* between the two Churches, when they come to an understanding regarding the content of Revelation.

3. "*The Creed of the Church.*" Inasmuch as the Orthodox Church admits the only Œcumenical Creed to be that of Nicæa-Constantinople, as exposed at the Synod of Chalcedon without the addition of the "Filioque," its representatives gladly accepted the fourth of the proposed Terms in which this is recognized as the Creed of the Catholic Church. Nor did they find any difficulty in accepting the Statement of the 4th Synod of Chalcedon as a development of the teaching contained in the Creed regarding the person of Jesus Christ and the relation of the two natures in Him. They did not, however, fail to add that, although they hold the Creed in especial reverence on account of its antiquity, they do not in any way set its dogmatic authority higher than the other decisions of the Œcumenical Synods, just as they do not admit a difference in authority between the Statement of the 4th Œcumenical Synod and the dogmatic Statements of the other Œcumenical Synods. But objection was provoked by the first part of the VI. Term, according to which since the Synod of Chalcedon forbade the drawing up of another "faith" that is, Statement, it is unlawful for a Church to require another Confession of faith as an essential condition of Intercommunion. In other words, that acceptance of the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople and the Statement of the 4th Synod of Chalcedon, should be sufficient to obtain the privilege of receiving Communion at the Altar of the Orthodox Church. This formulation is due to a patent misunderstanding of the object of the prohibition. The Synod of Chalcedon by those words declared illegal the compilation or issue of another Statement—for that is what the word "faith" signifies—which should treat of the truths dealt with in the Statement drawn up by itself, it forbade, that is to say, the tendency to substitute for that Statement any other one compiled by individual or by Synod. But that the Synod was not disposed to prohibit the compilation by other Œcumenical Synods of Statements dealing with other truths of the faith, is testified to by the activities of subsequent Œcumenical Synods which likewise issued Statements in connection with other matters of the Faith, as, for instance the VIth Œcumenical Synod against the Monothelites, and the VIIth against the Iconoclasts. The Orthodox, however, agreed with the Anglicans in the second part of the VIth Term, in which it is stated that the Churches, which have received and utilize other Creeds whether in Baptism or in Divine worship or in their teaching may continue to do so, provided, however, that their contents are in accordance with Scripture and Tradition. In this way the

three Terms were united into one with the title " the Creed of the Church " and in it agreement was declared :

(1) Regarding the one Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople, it being prohibited to issue any other Creed or to add to, or subtract from it.
(2) Regarding the use in the West of the so-called Apostolic Creed and
(3) The use was permitted in the services of the Church or in the teaching of the faithful of other written records provided that their content does not deviate from the Orthodox faith.

4. " *The Teaching regarding the Holy Spirit.*" The Anglicans' contention in the VIIth Term that the existing difference between East and West on the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, or from the Father and the Son, is merely a matter of words and that both expressions are equally legitimate and express the same faith, was not acceptable to the Orthodox. It has now been historically shown which of the Western Fathers it is whose theology is responsible for the phrase " from the Father and the Son," which diverges from that which, taken from Scripture, is recorded in the Creed and generally accepted. It has been shown also what were the reasons which gave rise to it, where the " Filioque " was first added to the Creed and how after being introduced into the Creed by Rome, it became established in the West. By itself the precaution shown even today by some of the Anglicans and the fear expressed by them lest, if the addition be removed from the Creed, the truth revealed by it be dimmed, is sufficient without further analysis to prove that the difference does not lie merely in the word and that the " Filioque " did not originally mean what is meant by the " through the Son." The recognition, however, by the Anglicans of the fact that the addition to the Creed was illegal and that in joint Synods of East and West it must be recited without the addition, lessened the objections of the Orthodox, as also did their assurance that every phrase or formula connoting the existence of two sources or agents in the Trinity is to be rejected. For that reason they showed great readiness to accept the phrase of John Damascene " through the Son," as showing not that the Holy Spirit exists by the Son, but that the Spirit is manifested through him and transmitted to creation, as the Orthodox representatives had done at the Bonn Conference (1875).

In the VIIIth Term the question was raised by the Anglicans of preserving the addition to the Creed for those Churches in the West, which originally received it with such addition, since its removal might cause offence to the people. In their reply the Orthodox

emphasized the danger of misunderstanding, to which the maintenance of the " Filioque " might give rise, as also the difficult position of the Orthodox *vis-à-vis* the Uniates in certain Orthodox countries, if the addition be tolerated, and finally declared that to concede the maintenance of it in given localities, was not within the competence of the Orthodox delegation. In the end, as neither side wished to resume discussion of the whole question, since it had been thrashed out at Bonn, we agreed to accept the proposals jointly adopted regarding the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit, but rejected every proposal or formula of expression suggesting the existence of two sources or agents in the Trinity, and accepted the teaching of John Damascene, that the Holy Spirit proceeds " from the Father through the Son," combining the VIIth and VIIIth terms into one only, " the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit."

5. " *Variety of Customs and Permissible Practices in the Church.*" In the IXth of the proposed terms a juxtaposition of the passages from Augustine and from Photius on customs makes it immediately clear that the former ranked among these such practices as have received the authority of our Lord and of Holy Scripture, while the second confined them to the purely ecclesiastical practices. Seeing that the first belong by their nature to Apostolic Tradition and as such form part of Divine Revelation, the Orthodox judged that a discussion about them could not, at that point, be held. And since the Anglicans agreed with that view, the passage from Photius was taken as the basis for the new formulation of the term. According to that passage, only those customs and practices are absolutely obligatory for the whole Church, which are founded on a general or Catholic agreement, whereas each Church remains free to accept or to reject those customs which have a local character. What, however, holds good for the Churches, regarded as a whole, does not hold good for the members of each Church, who must abide by the customs and practices of the Church to which they belong. The Orthodox, indeed, admitted that differences in practices that existed between East and West and were tolerated as such before the Schism, could not but continue to be so tolerated to-day. Likewise they added that the local Canons prevailing in the West have validity insofar as they contain nothing opposed to the Orthodox faith or to the Canons of the Œcumenical Synods.

6. " *The Sacraments.*" As in the discussion on Scripture and Tradition, so in that on the number of the Sacraments, the Orthodox at once noticed that the Anglicans insisted on the acceptance of only two Sacraments, Baptism and Holy Eucharist, not because they differ from ourselves as to the significance of the Sacrament, but because they were restricted in this matter by their creeds and

particularly by the 39 Articles. The reason for which the Reformers confined the Sacraments to two, pretexting that the remainder were not immediately established by our Lord or that they lack any external sign, or again with some of them there is no connection with the remission of sins, the *sine qua non* of every true Sacrament, is too well known for us to deal with it at length here. The abuses of the Roman Church in mediæval times against which the Reformation was aimed, had their origin in the Sacraments, and especially in the Sacrament of Confession, which in the hands of its priest, was not only an instrument for weighing down the conscience, but also a readily available means of material exploitation. The careful observer may in many passages of the Prayer Book of the Anglican Church notice that the public confession of Christians, as well as the remission of their sins by the Priest, takes place at this or the other service. Its utility, therefore, when practised publicly is recognized, although private confession and remission of sins is avoided for fear that through their use there may arise in the Anglican Church the ugly practices of the Roman Church. In discussing the number of the Sacraments we Orthodox willingly recognized the exceptional position occupied in the list of Sacraments by Baptism and Holy Eucharist, the first since it introduces us into the Church, the second since in an extraordinary manner it unites us with Christ. Likewise we admitted that the number of the Sacraments varied in tradition at different times, but contended that evidence is to be found in Scripture and tradition of the seven Sacraments now in use, and that each one of them bears those signs which show this Sacrament to be in practice. We insisted that we can make no distinction between these two and the other five as to their essence, but confine the distinction to the relatively unapproachable height of the Divine Grace imparted by the first two. The Anglicans further explained the phrase in the term that the two sacraments " are generally necessary for Salvation " and declared that they are " necessary for the salvation of every Christian," whereas " the others may prove necessary in given circumstances." But they did not give a satisfactory answer to the question whether Confirmation is a Sacrament necessary for the salvation of each one, although they declared that the Anglican Church requires that everyone baptized should receive Confirmation in order to partake of Holy Communion. Since in the course of the discussion it appeared that the theory of the necessity of this or that Sacrament arises from an erroneous conception of the significance of the sacramental Grace, the writer deemed it right to explain how the Orthodox understand it. According to him, " Sacramental Grace is the totality of the gifts by which our Lord, through his death upon the Cross, has assured salvation to us men. The Steward of Grace is the Body of Christ, *i.e.*, the Church continuing the work of Jesus Christ. To further

the salvation of men the Church makes use of this Grace in its wholeness according to the needs of the spiritual life of Christian men. She made use of this or the other ray of the Divine Grace. Insofar as the use which was made of Divine Grace was more important with regard to its effects, they could speak of the Divine Grace as being of more or less importance. However, in the appropriate circumstances he thought the Grace afforded to them in every Sacrament was necessary. That did not mean to say that every Christian individual was obliged to use the Grace of each Sacrament. For instance, no one would say that Ordination was obligatory for everyone, but it was absolutely necessary for the life of the Church, for without it the continuity of the Church could not be maintained. That is what he meant by saying that it was necessary and not obligatory. It must be admitted that, in spite of their insistence that the name Sacrament should be applied only to the two Sacraments, the Anglicans greatly contributed to the approximation of the two viewpoints, first because they recognized that the other Sacraments also which have an Apostolic origin bring great advantage to the Church, secondly because they, too, agree with the Orthodox, that, for example, in the Sacrament of Ordination a special Charisma is bestowed on the ordinands. Hence, although in the term the two viewpoints of Orthodox and Anglicans, regarding the seven Sacraments, were formulated side by side, yet the agreement achieved as to the significance of the Sacraments and the utility of all of them in the spiritual life of the Church and all Christians was greatly applauded. Furthermore, it was admitted on both sides that there can be variety in the method of celebrating the Sacraments, provided, of course, that the essential elements of each be observed.

Difficulties and Hopes.

The impression which the Orthodox took away with them from these two meetings of the representatives of our Churches in connection with the ulterior purpose of them, that is, the *rapprochement* and re-union of the Churches, was, generally speaking, favourable. The ancient preconception of the Orthodox that the Anglican Church is nothing other than a branch of Protestantism, only distinguished from the other Churches in that it has preserved the Episcopal order as a relic of Catholicism from which it broke away at the Reformation, was in great part dispelled as a result of these meetings. Immediate personal contact and discussion demonstrated that the Anglican contention that their Church is also Catholic, as the Creed calls it, and that it forms a part of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, gradually began to be regarded as not entirely unfounded. Whether its catholicity is manifested in it to such a

degree as to make its reunion with a consolidated Catholic Church, such as the Orthodox Church, an easy matter, is, of course, a different question. The nature of that question depends on the answer to the question as to how great has been, and is, the influence of Protestantism in it, whether, that is, the Protestant element in it is the greater, so as to prove it a Protestant Church, or whether that element is in such a minority that the Church remains a Reformed Catholic Church. The answer to this question is, however, a difficult one on account of the peculiar character which, owing to its composition, the Anglican Church had from the beginning, and still has to-day. Although those who steer a middle course, among whom are the Archbishops, call it both a Catholic and Protestant Church, consequently a Bridge Church, yet the parties in it regard it otherwise. Thus the Evangelicals and the Modernists exalt its Protestant character to such an extent that they call it absolutely Protestant. The Anglo-Catholics, on the other hand, discern in it such a strong Catholic element, that they are accustomed to call their Church "Catholic" and themselves "Catholics" or "Anglo-Catholics," in order to distinguish themselves from the "Roman-Catholics." But that brings us to the various schools of thought in the Anglican Church, regarding which the Bishop of Gloucester thought it right to give some enlightenment to the Orthodox at the second meeting, as he had previously given to the Old Catholics.

In speaking lately about these three Schools, about their shortcomings as also about their advantages, the Headmaster of Harrow said that, so far from constituting an obstacle to the unity of the Anglican Church, on the contrary, they contribute to such unity, since each of them supplements the other. The Bishop of Gloucester in his report preferred to place these schools rather on the fringe of the Anglican Church, and in the midst of them, uninfluenced by them, the greater part of Anglicanism, which steers a middle course. The spirit of this tendency which avoids the extreme views of the schools is represented, according to him, by the Lambeth Conference in its decisions regarding the questions, dogmatic, ethical or even purely ecclesiastical arising from time to time. But whether we accept the one view or the other the fact remains that all these schools of thought are admissible in the Anglican Church and their members continue to belong to the Church and to enjoy as well its other spiritual blessings as also Communion from its spiritual table. But does this, perhaps, happen because the subjects of difference between the schools do not touch upon the essence of the dogmatic system of the Church, that is to say, are of secondary importance? But in opposition to the acceptance of this view there is, first of all, the history of the Anglican Church which shows many examples since the Reformation of mass withdrawals or even individual desertions, precisely because the differences between the parties at variance

were insuperable or irreconcilable. In the second place, if we follow the struggle to-day being carried on between the various parties, we know well that the contestants themselves do not attribute a secondary importance to their differences, but regard them as touching the very essence of Christianity as a revealed religion. So numerous and so well known are these points of variance that it is difficult to occupy ourselves at this moment with an exposition of them. But how do we explain the fact that, in spite of these essential differences, the unity of the Anglican Church is preserved, except for isolated withdrawals?

First. The Anglican Church has learnt from its past history how precious a thing is the unity of the Church, and how great has been the damage and loss sustained at various times through secessions of groups which contained in themselves the seeds of vigour and action invaluable to the development and advancement of the joint religious life in the whole Church. Hence the Anglicans in all discussions regarding reunion always stress the point that they undertake them, not in the name of this or that party, but in the name of the whole Anglican Church. Secondly. As long as each one of the parties continues, within the framework of the one Church, to struggle for the prevailing of its own principles, it cherishes the hope that it will finally succeed in setting its own seal upon the pattern, which in the course of time the Anglican Church will assume. But if it withdraws from the unified ecclesiastical life and activity, it runs the risk of being isolated and finally becoming one of the many separated Churches, not to say Sects. Furthermore, the Church of England, if torn asunder, will cease to be the Church of the English people and will be dismembered into small groups not able to exercise the influence which to-day the Church exercises as a whole on the spiritual life of the nation. This conviction in conjunction with a well-conceived patriotism, that is, the higher interests of the English nation, inspires the members of the various Schools with the spirit of broad toleration, which is not comprehensible to those who have not closely followed the evolution of the Anglican Church.

However, since this is how the internal condition of the Anglican Church appears, is its re-union with the Orthodox Church possible? It is well known that the Orthodox Church, when it found itself within the great Reformation currents of the 16th century, did not immediately feel the Protestant influence, but continued to carry on the tradition of the ancient undivided Church. Of course, even for Orthodoxy, the 17th century was not entirely free from Protestant incursions which in particular date from the time of Cyril Lucaris' Confession. But that Confession recalls also the struggles to which the Orthodox Church devoted itself in order to repel them and preserve its true Catholic character. And if the success of its struggles

was occasionally achieved even by borrowing Roman Catholic phraseology and arguments, this is easily comprehensible and is explained by the condition in which Orthodox theology found itself after the fall of Constantinople. But that the Orthodox Church was not thereby bound to the chariot of Roman teaching is proved by its attitude to the decisions of the Council of Trent and of the Vatican Synod and its reaction to every innovation of Rome, in the past as in the present. The tendency of present-day Orthodox theologians is to proceed free from influence from one side or the other to the formulation and exposition of Orthodox teaching on the basis of the dogmatic definitions of the Seven Œcumenical Synods and having, as their unfailing guide, Holy Scripture and Tradition. This, however, in no way signifies that in the Orthodox Church the existence of theological views or Theologoumena is not permitted. But such theological views do not deal with the main points of dogmatic teaching, which is essential and indispensable for salvation, but only with those of secondary importance. It is, therefore, an unsuccessful attempt which is made by some of our Anglican friends to discern in the existence of such theological views something analogous to the schools of thought existing in the Anglican Church. Let us illustrate this by means of an example. While no Orthodox can be such if he denies the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist after the consecration, irrespectively of whether he uses this or that term to explain its reality, the Anglican continues to be such whether he accepts the Real Presence or denies it and inclines to the views of the Receptionist, or the Calvinistic or so-called symbolical views. Consequently, whereas the Orthodox Church diligently avoids using terms which might be construed equally in one or the other way, the much talked-of comprehensiveness of the Anglican Church aspires to such terms in order to satisfy the various conceptions of one and the same truth.

Since, therefore, in this respect the Orthodox Church continues to be an unreformed Catholic Church, as it is reproached for being by the Protestant party, how can it be united with a Church which contains in itself Protestant elements? One of two things must occur. Either the Orthodox Church will, in course of time, lay itself open to Protestant influences and in altering its character as a true Catholic Church will acquire those elements which will approximate it to the present condition of the Anglican Church, or the latter will, by increasingly appropriating Catholic principles, approximate to the teaching of the Orthodox Church. The careful observer of the spiritual development in each of the Churches is persuaded that while the theological leavening in the Orthodox Church is turning more and more to the revival of ancient tradition, the prevailing tendency in the Anglican Church is that which embraces Catholic principles. In effect, by reason of the more rapid

109233

prevalence in the Anglican Church of these principles, we feel optimistic that the *rapprochement* and re-union of our two Churches is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

But, besides the existence of various schools of thought in the Anglican Church, the Orthodox are somewhat estranged by the narrowness of the frame of the Doctrine as set out in the appeal of the Lambeth Conference of 1920. In its desire to facilitate the re-union of the Anglican Church not only with the Catholic Churches, but also with the Free or Protestant Churches, the Conference concentrated Christian teaching on four points, forming the well-known quadrilateral; *i.e.*, Scripture, Creed, Episcopal Order and the two Sacraments, that is the totality of the truths which each local Church must accept in order to become a member of the one united Church of the future. And, indeed, as long as the Anglican Church starts from such beginnings and can find in some one of the Catholic Churches the elements which alone it regards as essential, there is nothing to prevent it from coming into Sacramental intercommunion, as it did lately with the old Catholics. It had merely to characterize the other truths which go to form the dogmatic system of that Church as of secondary importance and not necessary for Salvation. But this quadrilateral of Lambeth disregards the importance of Tradition as supplementing Holy Scripture or limits it to those particulars only which were included in the ancient Creed. Consequently it does not recognize any further tradition, it confines the dogmatic development to the first five centuries and does not admit the right of the Church, when the occasion presents itself, to formulate and determine its teaching. Likewise, there is no mention of the significance of the Church, nor of its nature and composition, nor of its authority as guardian and interpreter of Divine Revelation, but only of the Episcopal order, as necessary to the fulfilment of its mission on earth. And there is proof that the Conference regards even the Episcopal order in a peculiar way, in the fact that it decided to hold sacramental communion with the Swedish Church merely by reason of its conviction that that Church has maintained the Apostolic succession of its bishops, without taking into account that the Swedish Church is a purely Lutheran Church. Because, as is well known, Lutheranism makes no distinction between the orders in the ministry, but accepts the ministry as something which has its origin not in the desires and injunctions of our Lord, but in the wishes of the Community. The Bishops continue as such in the Swedish Church, because their usefulness has been recognized, and not because it holds the belief regarding bishops, as a special order, which was held by the ancient Church, and it is supposed is held by the Anglican Church. We refrain from embarking upon a criticism of the views regarding Apostolic succession formulated by the Bishop of Gloucester after the discussion and agreement on it reached

at the first Lambeth meeting, contenting ourselves with characterizing it simply as a denial of it. Likewise the discussion regarding the Sacraments held at Lambeth makes it superfluous to dwell upon the importance which the Orthodox attach to the other sacraments as well. The narrowness of this quadrilateral even then attracted the attention of the Patriarchal delegation as is shown by the report it submitted and must indeed always do so and compel the Orthodox to extend any discussion with the Anglicans to points which have not been dealt with by the quadrilateral. We thus have a clear idea of the difficulty which the Orthodox meet with, through having a wider framework of truths that must be believed, in becoming united with a Church which has so much restricted it. This difficulty will be overcome when the Anglican Church gradually proceeds to appropriate the Catholic principles and widens its dogmatic framework, so as to include also those truths which to-day are regarded as of secondary importance. Insofar as the development of the Anglican Church tends towards this, hope and optimism regarding the reunion of the two Churches increase.

Since, however, we have been bold enough to speak about the difficulties in the way of Re-union that are due to the Protestant elements in the Anglican Church, we do not hesitate to give a piece of advice to the opposite party, that is, the one which in its excessive Catholic zeal tends to confuse Catholicism and Romanism. We do not ignore nor do we minimize, as do some of the Anglicans, the internal relationship and connection between the Church of England and the Church of Rome before the Reformation. But since this relationship was interrupted by the Reformation, which sought to rid the former of the teachings and practices which had been introduced by Rome, it cannot on any account be to its interest to return to these, as certain members of the Anglo-Catholic party seek to do. It is not to the advantage of the consolidation of the internal peace of the Anglican Church, since it irritates one section of the Church, the Evangelicals, and makes it turn against even the truly Catholic principles and practices. It also harms the work of reunion with the Orthodox Church, which if it looks with suspicion on anything that reeks of Protestantism, turns with much greater vehemence against any attempt to establish in the future United Church principles and practices that are purely Roman. We know that they constitute a small minority. But if they continue unbridled, they create the impression that complete dogmatic anarchy exists in the Anglican Church and confirm hesitations that perhaps exist as to the possibility of reunion

RUSSIAN MISSIONS: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By Prof. G. Florovsky.

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I

IN a certain sense the whole history of Russia is a process of colonization, the peopling of a country or the settling of inhabitants in different parts of it. In this movement the Church took a creative part and not only did she follow the people but often she led them. Strangely enough, she led them even at the time when she seemed to be deserting them by withdrawing from the outer material world into the world of spirit, for it frequently happened that the ascetics and hermits were the pioneers on the rough and half-wild virgin soil in the north and north-east of Russia. For them the dense forests served as a desert, but they were followed by the world from which they wished to escape and so they had to depart from their settlements and get away still farther, cutting into the very depths of the primeval forests. Thus the ascetic retreat from the world attracted, as it were, the advance of the world; a process which historians call monastic colonization.

This was an important factor and moment in the social history of the Russian people, and at the same time it was a missionary process, that is, a geographical propagation and extension of the Church. The baptism of Russia cannot be looked upon as a single fact; it was rather an extensive process spread over centuries, a process of Christian occupation of new lands and territories. For a long time the Russian Church was in a state of constant movement, wandering about, practically leading a nomadic life and always entering into the lands of the unbaptised either simultaneously with the State or often even before it. Up to the last the Russian Church was like an island in the midst of a pagan sea, and even inside Russia itself she was always a missionary Church. Missionary work, that is the calling of unbelievers to the faith, was a part of her daily life.

It was from Byzantium that the Russian Church received the bequest of carrying on this missionary work and to this end it adapted the Byzantine methods.

This meant putting in the forefront the use of the vernacular or local dialects in preaching. In other words, it was evangelization as a way of awakening the new peoples to a Christian life, and at the same time it was an adaptation to a tradition of culture, but without any negation or suppression of national differences and peculiarities. By this means the Slavonic people, enlightened and

baptized by the Byzantine missionaries, were drawn into the vortex of Byzantine civilization and yet did not lose their Slavonic features. [1]

Canonical and administrative correlations were difficult and complicated, but they had no effect on the inner life.

Translation as a method of missionary influence is a major premise of Byzantine missionary work, and that method was adopted by the Russian civilisers and missionaries from the very beginning. In this respect the personality of St. Stephen of Perm, the civiliser of Zirian and a friend of the Revd. Father Sergius († 1396), is most brilliant and expressive. Of his own accord he undertook a missionary journey through the district of Perm. He not only preached but even officiated in the vernacular, with which purpose in view he had to translate the holy scriptures and Church books, and to do this it was first necessary to work out a Zirian alphabet which he probably based upon the local Runic signs.

St. Stephen's idea was to create a local "Perm" Church in which all the spiritual forces of a newly civilised people would have revealed themselves and received their consecration. His immediate successors in the see of Perm were inspired by the same ideal, which however, was not attained, his Zirian Orthodox Church being finally absorbed by the Russian Orthodox Church. It is indeed possible that St. Stephen wanted to give the Zirians somewhat more than they really needed or were able to absorb and retain. Not all peoples possess their own culture, or indeed can possess it, and that "can" or "cannot" is a bare historical fact. Not every people or tribe has its own spiritual words, its own creative style for biological and spiritual expressions and phenomena of different grades. These facts present great difficulties for missionary work and a missionary must possess great tact and sensitiveness in order to learn and find the right way.

In any case, however, it was the missionary ideal of St. Stephen of Perm that continued to be a typical guide in the Russian Church till quite recently. The Gospel was preached and divine service performed in many tongues.

Particularly noteworthy is the creation of an Orthodox Church for the Tartars with their own native clergy in the Kazan region. But the most brilliant example of that missionary nationalism is the creation of a Japanese Church, which grew up and still remains as one of the dioceses of the Russian patriarchate.

Missionary work must start first of all with translation, as it is always necessary to begin in the vernacular. The Gospel must be translated and reduced to writing, or at any rate related in the tongue of the country; but as the work goes on questions arise. Is it necessary to translate the whole Bible and the whole cycle of Church books as well as to work out in each tongue the theological

[1] The history of the Georgian Church should be compared in this connexion.

terminology which is necessary for the translation of dogmatic formulæ? The difficulty here lies in the fact that many of the tongues are still undeveloped and insufficiently flexible and rich in their vocabulary to be used in mystical and sacred quotations. The missionaries often have not only to invent an alphabet but, as it were, to invent and work out the tongue itself. Another difficulty arises in translating into languages of non-Christian civilisations, for here are many old associations and a lack is felt of words to express the new conceptions because the old words have too many old connotations. In any case a missionary must have a great philological gift and sensitiveness; a loving and lively sense of the tongue; a desire and power to penetrate into the foreign soul and understand it; that is to say, one has in a certain sense to have the faculty of sympathetic reincarnation.

The same is, no doubt, required from every pastor and teacher in general, but the claim on these qualities in missionary work is especially acute. Very often missionaries have to create and build up the civilisation of the natives, for it is often impossible to draw the line between the evangelical doctrines and everyday life. Too often it is necessary to change or even to break up the whole structure or mode of life which has become too closely amalgamated with the pagan past and too firmly a part of daily life. Sometimes it is necessary to isolate the neophytes from their own people, often for the sake of their own safety. Again, for them to benefit from the preaching of the Gospel, it is important to enlarge the mental outlook of a flock that is being sought for, so as to arouse and elevate its requirements, and this again is only possible by bringing them into touch with a higher civilisation which has already taken root. It is generally only by the acceptance of this higher civilisation that the hidden forces of a newly enlightened people can be awakened. In experiments in real life one cannot draw a line between religious and worldly things. According to the inner logic of missionary work itself a missionary ought to enter into the daily life of his people. It is not wrong that a missionary should be involved in worldly business and cares; this is only wrong if he loses the true perspective of the Gospel and yields himself up to the spirit of the world. It is inevitable for the mission to come face to face with the State, *i.e.* to co-operate with it, or at least to work alongside the State's compulsory and organising institutions, but it is difficult to say which is more difficult, to co-operate or to struggle. Help and facilities from the State generally rather complicate the inner work of a missionary. The application of direct force is not so dangerous, but the strength and power of the State unwittingly overawe, and superiority of culture attracts, with the result that the genuine simplicity of a Christian conversion and its growth is hampered and the *tempo* of missionary work becomes too rapid. Sometimes the mission inevitably enters into controversy

with the State; for it may happen that the interest of the State demands delay in the Christianizing movement among younger nations; or sometimes, on the contrary, baptism acquires for the empire the means of forcing them into a central civilised political union. In the case of local dialects, too, the methods of evangelization may appear injurious from the point of view of the State. To find a way through all these difficulties and conflicts in the process of creating the Christian life is only possible by creative inspiration and sagacity.

II.

The concrete tasks of Russian missionary activity were defined by the growth of the empire. At first it was the evangelization of an inhabited country, above all of a Slavonic population. Then the movement spread into the region of the Finnish tribes. Strictly speaking, the conversion of the smaller Finnish tribes has never been completed. The influence of pagan inertia remained strong up to the last and was responsible for the fact of masses falling back to paganism after the Russian revolution. In this respect the North-East of European Russia may be taken as an example. The religion of these Finnish tribes may be defined as animism with a strongly developed belief in magic and sorcery; in this sorcery and still more in the sorcerers themselves lie the chief causes of the pagan stability.

In the sixteenth century the Russian Church came face to face with Islam, and especially in the time of John the Terrible, after his conquests and annexation of the Tartar kingdoms along the river Volga. The meeting with Islam was rather hostile. It is true that many Tartar races accepted baptism at once, but on the whole the mass of the Tartars remained faithful to the traditions of their fathers, and it was only for the sake of preserving their national characteristics that the principle of toleration was advanced against any intrusion of the Orthodox mission into the secluded world of the Tartars. The right course of making missionary influence felt was found here only when the ideal of Tartar Orthodoxy was brought forward openly and fearlessly. But one has to bear in mind that the presence of a Russian mission amongst the local Moslems was only one of the incidents of the great world struggle of Christianity with Islam, and that it was always affected by the broad religious and political perspective. The regions along the river Volga remained the experimental fields for missionary work up to the last. Here the old paganism was still preserved amongst the natives, and all this country overlooked Asia with its religious zeal and inertia.

Here the Orthodox mission for the first time came into touch with the Lamaism of the Kalmuck who migrated to the province of

Saratov at the end of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the circumstances of missionary activities were not, in general, favourable: the State interfered too powerfully with the affairs of the mission, pursuing its own interests, that is to say, getting the maximum benefit for itself from the people. Often enough, indeed, the State put obstacles in the way of the missionary work, especially among Moslems, and generally speaking the eighteenth century was a difficult period in the history of the Russian Church, which was somewhat restrained by the supervision of the State and weakened materially by the secularisation of her property. Only a few held fast at that period of general indifference and spiritual backwardness. The advance started again only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This delay is very important to note. With it are bound up the chief difficulties of the mission of the nineteenth century. A new tradition began and was established.

As a matter of fact it was only at the beginning of this nineteenth century that the mission commenced its development in the provinces along the river Volga. This was above all due to the activities of the Bible Society and its branches. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the New Testament was published in the following translations: Nogay, Tartar, Tchuvash, Morduates, Tcheremiss, Kalmuck, Zirian, Votiak and Korel. It must, however, be noted that these translations are far from being always satisfactory and reliable.

At that same time native schools were opened and teaching was commenced in the local dialects. Special courses were organised, and ecclesiastical seminaries for the training of teachers and the more serious study of the native environment and the work to be undertaken by the mission were founded in the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy (founded in 1842). Here a special section of missionary training was opened in 1854. In the year 1867 was also started the missionary brotherhood of St. Gouri, which occupied itself with the external and internal arrangements of the mission and especially with the publishing work and the starting of schools. In 1883 it was generally recognised in principle that the performance of divine services in the local tongues was admissible and desirable. A whole series of brotherhoods came into being in other dioceses and a network of native schools began to spread abroad. The missionary struggle with Islam was particularly difficult owing to the well-developed network of Moslem schools and to the great zeal of the Moslem clergy. In order to succeed it was generally necessary for the missionaries to break up the primitive form of life and to work out new and independent ways of social life for the neophytes.

It is well to point out yet another object of missionary activities within the boundaries of European Russia, the enlightenment of

the Eskimo who led a nomad life on marshy plains in the Government of Archangel. Since the twenties of the nineteenth century the whole New Testament and catechism had been translated into the Eskimo tongue, and a grammar and dictionary were compiled (Mission of Archimandrite Veniamin Smirnov).

The missionary activities in Siberia were still more intricate. There they had to preach to pagan Shamanists (predominantly small Finnish tribes) and to the Moslems, and, above all, to the Lamaists, and one must strictly distinguish these different spheres of missionary work and the varied methods that they required.

The great extent of territory and the roughness of the climate fully explain the comparative slowness of regular Church and even governmental organisation. Small and isolated oases sprang up in the midst of an empty, and, for a long time, inimical world.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century it is well to draw attention to the activities, full of inspiration (particularly amongst the Finnish tribes) of Phylophei Leshchinski, the missionary who was twice on the throne of Tobolsk, and between these appointments became a monk. In spite of this he carried on the missionary work, personally exposing his life to great risks. He made several journeys to preach the Gospel to the Ostiaks and Voguls, etc. To consolidate the results, he opened schools and organised churches, though for a long time the newly opened churches could only be served by visiting chaplains. The new parishes were at enormous distances, and consequently the chief centres, monasteries and cathedral cities, were of great importance, these providing the constant stream of active workers. It is particularly necessary to note also the missionary expeditions (in the middle of the eighteenth century) to Kamschatka, whence Christianity spread across the islands to the Alaskan shores of North America.

In the eighteenth century, also, there sprang up an Orthodox mission in China, at Pekin, principally on behalf of the Russian prisoners of war who had settled there, but also for the purpose of collecting information. But, generally speaking, missionary work in the eighteenth century was very insignificant. Its revival in Siberia begins only in the nineteenth century, and once more we must emphasize the rather unfriendly attitude adopted by the State towards the Orthodox mission. In the eighteenth century, preaching to the Kirgeeses was forbidden, and conversions to Islam were, if anything, patronised. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Lamaian hierarchy was recognised by the State. The spiritual awakening which followed conversion and baptism troubled the local representatives of the government. The raising of the tone of life meant that the pulse was quickened and strengthened, and that appeared to be troublesome. In the eighteenth century the too zealous missionaries were moved farther

on, to places where there was no one to convert. But at last, in the nineteenth century, several outstanding and permanent missionary centres arose in Siberia, amongst which the Altai mission deserves above all to be noted. It was started in 1830 at the initiative of Evgeni Kazantzev, at that time Archbishop of Tobolsk, and at the head of it was placed the Archimandrite Makarios Gloukarev. Archimandrite Makarios was a remarkable man, of great spiritual earnestness and very profound, but rather exalted by eschatological interests and those Utopian ideas which were characteristic, even in the West, of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly a mystic, and the translator of eastern and western mystics (*e.g.*, St. Teresa of Spain), he knew how to find common expression with others and to weep even with the Quakers. He himself led a very rigid, ascetic and evangelical life, and the Metropolitan Philaret, who knew him intimately and loved him, called him a "romantic missionary." And, indeed, Makarios introduced into his missionary work a literally romantic zeal and ardour. He looked upon his missionary calling with sincere humility and he tried to arrange it on the principles of a strict communism. "Let it be our rule that we should possess everything in common, money, food, clothes, books and everything else, and let this be a means of facilitating our inspiration towards unanimity." It is an apostolic rather than a monastic ideal. Makarios had few assistants, but with them he succeeded in achieving unanimity. He did not hurry to baptize, and during the thirteen years of his work he converted only about 650 persons. In his work he laid great stress on the "call to faith." He endeavoured to attain spiritual regeneration and to awaken sincere and sparkling faith in sleeping souls. He preached Christ crucified, and great stress was laid on re-education and the achievement of moral ideals. In accordance with his ideas a sisterhood of widows and young women was attached to the mission.

Makarios himself was much occupied with translations, and at one time he was possessed with the idea of translating the Bible especially from the Hebrew), but his work was disapproved by the central authority, and to this resistance he attached great importance. He worked out a general missionary scheme which was called "Some notes on the means for an intensive propagation of the Christian Faith amongst Jews, Moslems and heathen in the Russian Empire," 1839. For those destined to missionary work he considered it necessary to establish in Kazan an educational missionary centre, a monastery-school for which a more elaborate scheme for ecclesiastical and ethnographic education was to have been worked out.

The full significance of Fr. Makarios' enterprise can only be appreciated when the harsh and rugged nature of the region of the

Altai is borne in mind, and the poverty of the mission as well (up to 1857 its budget was only 571 roubles a year).[1]

After Makarios the Altai mission continued to flourish, particularly under the management of Father Vladimir Petrov, who later on became a bishop in the Altai, and died Archbishop of Kazan. Still later another Makarios worked there, who in the time of the Great War was Metropolitan of Moscow. Less valuable work was done by the Obdorsk and Surgut missions in the same diocese of Tobolsk.

In course of time the missionary duties were distributed amongst the parish clergy, and they had to face the work unaided by special missionary institutions. This step was somewhat untimely and indiscreet. The missionary advance ought to have continued constant and persistent in view of the general low standard of life, and the absorbing influence of environment.

The second bright page in the history of the Siberian mission opens with the activities of Archbishop Nilus in Eastern Siberia (Irkutsk 1838 to 1853, depicted in Leskoy's famous novel *On the Edge of the World*) and in particular of Innokenti Veniaminov, later Metropolitan of Moscow after the death of Philaret.

Archbishop Nilus took an interest in mission work while Bishop of Viatka, even before he was appointed to Siberia. In Irkutsk and the Trans-Baikal region it was necessary to preach to the Buriats who belonged to the Lamaian Faith. Nilus worked a great deal on the translation of Church books into the Mongol-Buriat language and still carried on that work after his reappointment to Yaroslav. Innokenti Veniaminov commenced his work on the Aleutian Islands, which at that time belonged to Russia. Here he preached to the Koloshes and the Aleutes for about fifteen years. He studied local dialects, compiled a grammar and a dictionary and began to make translations; he also left us a description of the country and the ways of life there. According to his scheme made in 1840, the mission at that time in the Russian possessions in North America was legally organised and placed under the management of the Bishop of Kamschatka. Innokenti was appointed to the bishop's throne, and for twenty-eight years he worked in this new country, new and yet his by birthright. His diocese covered enormous distances, and most of his time was spent in travelling. His assistants translated the Church books into the Yakut and Tungus tongues.

Mission work against the Lamaian faith in the Trans-Baikal Country was most difficult; yet many improvements were made there by Parpheni Popov, the Archbishop of Irkutsk, and later on by the Archbishop Veniamin Blagonravov. The mission in China never could attain any noticeable growth, though a great work was

[1] About £58. (*Translator*).

done in translation, and the mission at Pekin was the general centre of sinological studies for a long time. The mission workers were in consequence more prominent for their scientific than for their apostolic achievements. China is in general a very difficult country and unfavourable for missionary work.

In a very different way the life of the Russian mission in Japan was progressing. Of course, it was very much owing to the personal qualities and exploits of the first of the Russian missionaries Nikolai Kazatkin, who, later on, became Archbishop of Japan, or rather its apostle in the true sense of the word. He began his work in 1861, soon after Japan opened her doors to Europeans and prior to the declaration of toleration. Yet the mission began to grow very quickly. Again the method of translation was adopted and many years were spent in the translation of the Christian service books, and a net of Orthodox parishes spread gradually all over Japan.

In the history of the Japanese Orthodox Church one is struck by the astonishing simplicity and strength of the immediate corporate Church feeling. Parish life goes on very actively and intensively. Diocesan meetings with the parishioners participating are organised every year. The work of the catechists goes on slowly and steadily and the cultural level of Japanese Orthodoxy is sufficiently high for it to spread also among educated people. For many years an ecclesiastical seminary existed in Tokio, and the Japanese Church has long ago become an independent diocese with complete internal status and management and is canonically a member of the Moscow patriarchate.

III.

Missionary work does not lend itself well to schemes of management and organization issued from the centre. It is, above all, the work of pastoral creative power and inspiration. Therefore it depends much more upon the personality of the individuals who are the active workers than upon plans and programmes, and that is why the history of a mission is bound up closely with names. Therefore, too, missionary work often progresses spasmodically and stops altogether at intervals. And yet it is very important that the personal initiative should find an encouraging response, sympathy and facilities in the whole Church body. Therefore when in 1865 the Orthodox Missionary Society was inaugurated this was considered an event of great importance. Its work, however, became really effective only after its reorganization in 1869, when Innokenti, at that time Metropolitan of Moscow, became its president and its activities became more interwoven with the metropolitan see.

The missionary society had its branches in the centres of work

and took the financial cares of the mission and its parishes upon itself. Yet there was another important task which required organised help, the scientific and scholastic training of the missionaries who were in need of good knowledge and understanding of the environment in which they would have to work. It was necessary to know the language of the people, their history and their ways of living, all leading on to an understanding of the soul. It was necessary to see how to approach that soul with the word of Christ's truth, and for this, knowledge of a language and folklore is not alone sufficient. The specific blending of an apostolic divine light and the *pathos* of a stranger's philosophy is essential and these qualities are more easy to be found in natives.

The necessity for a high ecclesiastical missionary school was not realised at once. Only in 1854 was a special missionary section opened in the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, and it was left there even after reforms had been introduced in ecclesiastical schools in general in 1870. A specific teaching of missionary subjects had already begun in 1845 with the participation of the professors of the Kazan University, but as a matter of fact the studies were concentrated exclusively on languages.

Names such as Sabloukov, Ilminsky, Bobrovnikov, are important and unforgettable in the history of the Kazan Academy. Sabloukov was a man self-taught in the Arabic and Tartar philology. By hard work, fired by scientific enthusiasm and a natural love of work, he attained to profound erudition not only in the languages themselves but in history and archæology as well. His translation of the Koran is especially well known. Not all the books written by him were published, many of them perished in a fire at his home. His teaching in the Academy and his participation in all missionary undertakings amongst the Tartars meant very much.

Still more important was the work of Ilminsky, who arranged his experiences of preaching to the Tartars in systematic order. Ilminsky was adverse to the method of polemics. He tried to work out a scheme of preaching for the purpose of conversion. He not only had scholastic and theoretic training, but understood intimately the life and ways of the local Tartars. He visited their villages and lived amongst them for some time in order to penetrate intimately into their manner of life. He also in 1851-3 travelled in the east with many breaks by the way, making long stops at Cairo, Lebanon and Constantinople. As the outcome of this practical acquaintance with the mass of the people he came to a very important conclusion with regard to translations. He insisted on the necessity of these being made in the living conversational Tartar language and not in the literary language, and this was of the utmost importance. In the first place the literary language of the Tartars was laden with Arabic and Persian words and had a general flavour of Islam, and by the use of the colloquial speech it

was possible to escape that hidden Moslem taint. Secondly, the translation into a colloquial tongue requires great creative powers and intensity on the part of the translator and this was exactly what Ilminsky wanted. He was aiming at the formation of a specific Christian Tartar language in opposition to an Islamic one and saw in this an important step in the matter of preaching. The language itself was not to him something already developed and stationary, it was a living spiritual element which it was possible to transmute and transfigure. With this was connected a scheme for working out a whole network of Christian Tartar schools with the teaching carried on in the tongue of the people. Thirdly, there was in view the democratization of the mission, which spread far and wide among the masses, avoiding the book-learned and the aristocrats. Ilminsky's scheme was a complete system for the Christian transformation of the Tartars, yet without the least trace of any Russification. A note should also be made about the Arabic letters which he changed into Russian, as being more convenient, since he saw in the Arabic alphabet the presence of Moslem culture while that of Russia bore the symbols of Christianity. He did not believe in the fruitfulness of any preaching unless done in the people's own tongue. "Christianity as a living principle should work as a leaven in the thoughts and feelings and after having taken shape in men of advanced minds it should come from and through them to others. We believe that the evangelical word of our Saviour Jesus Christ, having become incarnate, so to speak, in the living tongue of the Tartars and through it having associated itself most sincerely with their deepest thoughts and religious consciousness, would produce the Christian revival of this tribe." Nevertheless, the Ilminsky scheme did not spring into being at once nor without some opposition both in the Kazan district and in Turkestan.

A net-work of schools, with a seminary as a centre at Kazan, was organised and Ilminsky was appointed director of the seminary. Yet the most important work was still translating. This required great creative power and for it Ilminsky found help amongst the baptized Tartars. Furthermore, the introduction of divine service in the Tartar language proved one of the most effective missionary methods. Of Ilminsky's assistants and followers should be mentioned such persons as the Archpriest Malov, Ostrooumov, and the Tartar Timofeiev. The principles laid down by Ilminsky were also applied to other spheres of missionary enterprise among the natives. In connection with the study of anti-Lamaian controversies, there were no such outstanding organisers in the Kazan Academy as this man.

A. A. Bobrovnikov was a great authority on the Mongol-Buriat dialect and he compiled the first successful Mongol-Kalmuck grammar of that period. A native of the Irkutsk district and the

son of a missionary, he felt, when mingling with the Buriats, an intimate nearness to this Mongol people. His book studies were supplemented by his scientific expeditions. Yet he was not a man of initiative and could not find the true methods of translating though he did expose some faults of the previous literary translations. In spite of all its incompleteness the work done by the Kazan Academy was of great importance for the help given to the missionaries to penetrate into the souls of non-Europeans, and it has not even yet been fully appreciated or used to the uttermost.

IV.

Russian missionary work amongst the foreign tribes was put an end to forcibly. The Gospel of Christ on Russian soil became an impossibility and as a consequence a return to former beliefs took place especially among the Shamaist tribes in the districts of the river Volga and in Siberia, though at one time for some reason a partial freedom was enjoyed by Islam.

It is not given to us to foresee the future or to make guesses with regard to the fate of the Christian Faith among the native tribes of Russia; but we can, and it is necessary that we should, look back, so as to understand and consider well the lessons of the past which bear on the words: "Whosoever shall do and teach them the same shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven." (*Matt.* v. 19.)

A RUSSIAN WEEK-END ON MONTPARNASSE.

By Paul Anderson.

NO one can have connection with the Russian Christian Movement, pioneer organization in youth work among Russians, and not have all sorts of interesting things happen to him all the time. In our headquarters here at 10, Boulevard Montparnasse are centred a dozen enterprises varying all the way from a "Sunday-Thursday" School of religion for 350 children, to the principal publishing concern in the world printing Russian religious-philosophical books. There is a Superior Technical Institute with its flourishing evening courses and its thousands of correspondence students, Russians living in 46 different countries. Three magazines are published here; here is the headquarters for the Russian Student Christian Movement with a dozen branches in other lands. There is vital and varied activity.

The past few days have brought a score of interesting incidents and I put down a few of them here, to share with folk at home.

From "Walrus" to "St. Andrew's."

When I first made the acquaintance of this group of boys, I learned that they called themselves the "Walrus Club." And I thought it not a bad title. They are a bit rough, more than a bit awkward, with some rather chaotic ideas in their heads. They are not sure just what they should do, but one item stands out clear—their first duty, even before that to their families, is to serve their country. More than half their life has been spent in emigration, but Russia is the centre of their dreams and the goal of their aspiration. The notion of a naval-military formation has expressed itself in their uniform designed by themselves; a boy-scout sort of shirt with plenty of room for "distinctions" on the sleeve, and sailor trousers with bottoms two feet in diameter.

The mention of pants leads me to digress slightly and tell of one particular pair, in the club. Bundikov is one of the gang's leaders, for the moment out of work, whose father, an artist, combines the usual amount of practical sense which genius is supposed to have with very strict ideas as to proper conduct of his son. They live in extreme poverty. Bundikov wanted his father to get him a pair of trousers so he could go to a dance in full "Walrus" uniform: he had had his old Scout shirt dyed dark blue to match the trousers he wanted. But the father was opposed to the idea of dancing and refused to do anything about it. From somewhere, no one seems to know exactly how, Bundikov produced the cloth and made the trousers himself. Still determined that the boy should not

visit the dance halls, his father put the new trousers into the stove. Here club solidarity asserted itself: the other members turned in to help: somehow another pair of pants with the proper flare at the bottom, was provided. And I very much suspect that Bundikov went to his dance.

Last Sunday, at the time for our regular session, there was no meeting. One or two members came in at a time, then left, and others turned up. From the general uneasiness I learned that there was "a split in the club." A serious personal difference between two of the most active members had increased the difficulty. So we gave up the idea of a regular meeting. Part of the gang stayed in the game-room and part of us went down to attend service in the lovely little church the students have made out of the former garage.

The church was crowded, mostly with young folks. It was the beginning of Lent, "Forgiveness Sunday," and the service was especially solemn. I am sure most churches in America never heard their pastor make a speech like that of the priest, this evening. Instead of trying to quote it, let me give you his own words, in a paragraph from his letter to the members of the Movement. This evening Fr. Tchetverikov said about the same thing.

"The first day, on the very threshold of Lent, is the great and moving Forgiveness Sunday, when in accordance with ancient custom, we meet in our churches for common prayers of repentance and the mutual request for forgiveness for pain we have caused each other, for unkind feelings, for lack of attention, coldness or carelessness. On that day the whole Movement feels a sense of repentance and mutual reconciliation, and flowing from this, a sense of pure joy and inner peace.

"Conscious of my own deep responsibility before the Movement for lack of love and attention, for the feebleness and lack of warmth of my prayers, for my indolence, faint interest, unapproachability, for my incapacity to fulfil as I should the duties of spiritual leader of the Movement, to respond to the questions and needs of young hearts and minds, I bow to the earth before the Movement and beg forgiveness for my weaknesses and failings."

For a moment there was absolute stillness. Then the choir went on with the moving "prayers of repentance." Here and there in the crowd people turned to each other and whispered a request for forgiveness. Suddenly Boris, one of the club leaders standing beside me, turned and left the church. Through the open door I saw him cross the courtyard directly toward the group where stood Volodya, the "other side" of the dispute mentioned above. In five minutes Boris was back in the church once more.

I had asked Volodya and Pavel, his closest chum, to go out to a café for a chat. "Nothing special—let's just have a good talk about things in general." As we started off together after church,

Volodya suddenly said: "Donald Ivanovich, do you know what happened? Boris asked my forgiveness." There was no need to inquire if it had been granted. One difficulty in the club life had been settled.

"You know," they told me, "we decided the other night to change the club's name. Now we are the St. Andrew's Club. And we have a dandy new flag with the St. Andrew's Cross on it, almost finished. But we decided that perhaps it would be better to wait until our club amounts to something, before we bring the flag to church to have it blessed. Somehow it would be more suitable. What do you think?"

Yesterday the new president asked permission to put up a new poster he had made. With its vivid picture of a soldier going into attack against a background of battle-smoke and bursting shells, it represents hours and hours of work. The text may not indicate such an amount of thought and Volodya found it difficult to understand why our non-political principle prevented publication of the poster, but it represents this group's type of thinking.

To Youth!

Who among you does not burn with the desire to serve our long-suffering fatherland?

Whose heart is not wrung as he sees how our fatherland is being destroyed?

Whoever loves our fatherland with all his soul, let him join our group.

St. Andrew—(The Walrus)

for its idea is battle for our faith and for the holy things which have been desecrated. Battle

for Great Russia instead of USSR,
for a strong national Government
for government by those who love Russia,
for freedom of religion, free speech and free press (except that of the left),
for freedom to hold property, for private property, free trade and free labour,
for the equality of all before the law,
for independent and just courts,
for order and justice,
for free schools for all,
for our Fatherland,
FOR RUSSIA.

They sound like fifteen-year-olds. As a matter of fact they are 18. Part of the "first generation" of emigré children, who spent their most impressionable years in the chaos of civil war and

refugee camps, went to school, if at all, one term in Constantinople, two in Prague, and finished in Berlin or Paris, they have a psychology of their own. They are a bit uncouth, not a little immature, but shining out like a diamond in a coal heap is a burning, almost fanatical love of Russia and a determination to serve her. Just what will come of them no one can tell. They are boys without a country—living in France but not of it. It is a difficult and a dangerous position, but as long as a free and mighty Russia fills their thoughts and originates their plans, they are certainly not hopeless.

Fried-cakes for the Unemployed.

One of the most interesting bits of social service the Movement instituted last year was its kitchen for the unemployed. Themselves without means, the students have collected funds to enable the operation of a kitchen providing bread and soup for an average of 60 men daily throughout the year. The sum approximates 1,000 francs per month. One Russian newspaper has helped to raise funds, but for the greater part of the material support necessary, the group has had to depend upon their own efforts among Russian emigrés. How the project appeals to the Russian public was shown by a recent incident.

It was "Butter-Week"—the last week before the strict fasting of Lent begins, the week traditionally devoted to good eating. Claudia Pereshnev, the girl who manages the kitchen for the unemployed, works in an office on the third floor. The other day she was summoned to the street level to meet an old lady who could not climb the stairs. She found a Russian peasant woman, kerchief over her head just as though she had come from Pskov or Vologda instead of a town in France. She carried a large basket which she offered the girl.

"Here are 95 fried-cakes I made for your kitchen. It seemed a shame that the unemployed should not have something special for Butter-Week."

The material outlay for such a quantity of food is considerable, to say nothing of the labour of preparation and transport to Paris. The visitor was so evidently neither rich nor physically robust, that Claudia was touched.

"And whom are we to thank for this?" she inquired.

"Oh, that does not make any difference," the woman replied. "Just tell them a woman from Velizy made them." (Velizy is a suburb thirty minutes from Paris.)

"But I am sure the men would like to know the name of such a kind person," Claudia insisted.

"That is not important at all," the donor stated, "let them eat these cakes to the glory of God"—and she went slowly out, refusing any further information about herself.

PASTORAL OF BARNABAS, PATRIARCH OF SERBIA.

Summarized from a translation by L. Patterson, D.D.

BARNABAS, Orthodox Patriarch of Serbia with the Holy Archi-episcopal Synod, sends his fatherly blessing and greeting to all his Orthodox clergy and people, the heads of the people, fathers and children, and issues this epistle about the Penitential Year of the Lord, which begins now at the beginning of the loyal fast.

God-loving brethren in Christ and faithful children of Orthodoxy, Peace to you and grace from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ now and for ever!

Fateful events have occurred in nineteen centuries. Fateful and so great, that everything else that is called great in the world appears as an ant-hill in front of a mountain. The one true lover of men, the one faithful friend of all men in the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, gave Himself to be crucified on the cross out of love for the human race.

From this event of events, from this miracle of miracles, there have passed fully nineteen centuries. And His holy Church, holy from end to end, is able to-day to celebrate this jubilee of jubilees. The Serbian people, who celebrate the defeat of Kosovo as a victory, can more easily than other peoples understand how to celebrate Christ's Golgotha as a victory.

How then must the universal Orthodox Church celebrate this rare jubilee?

In such a way as best corresponds to the most accurate title of this year. And the most accurate title of this year, we think, is—"The Year of Penitence."

I. Of what must this Year of Penitence remind us?

II. What does it require of us? and

III. How can it profit us?

I.

This Year of Penitence must remind every individual Christian of all his past. Everybody should review and verify all that has happened to him in this earthly life: pleasant or unpleasant, light or dark. He should measure all by the standard of Christ's Truth and Justice. He should penetrate into the secrets of his life and recognize the Divine Providence in all things. With judicial strictness and as before the face of God he should reveal all, judge

all, and separate it to left and to right. As representing the judgment of others he should become the judge of himself, according to the words of the holy apostle; "if they would judge themselves, they would not be condemned."

This Year of Penitence must also remind our whole people of their past, the great teacher of life, which clearly shows what befell our forefathers, when they walked according to the law of God, and again, when they trampled on the law of God. Let this Year of Penitence remind us of the father of our nation, the holy Sava Nemanyich and his spiritual dynasty of Serbian saints, men and women, to this fair pleiad of national heroes, who for ever bound the national soul to the honourable cross, wed the national heart to the King of the heavenly Kingdom, and clearly cut out the road of right progress and salvation for all future generations. Then, having reminded themselves of all this, let them look, consider, and see: where do we, their descendants, find ourselves to-day and in what ways are we walking?

Finally, the Year of Penitence must remind all baptized peoples of the saving sacrifice of Christ for the human race. If all, then in any case and in the first place, it should next to us remind our Orthodox brethren: Russians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and the rest of God's peoples with Apostolic traditions and great history of martyrdom for the true faith. Let all baptized peoples look at their past and see what grace they all received from Christ. Let them estimate to what nobility and enlightenment they have risen from savage darkness, in which their pre-Christian forefathers languished for thousands of years waiting for the light. Let them remember and see, again, what misfortunes have befallen them all, when they have sinned against the seal of baptism set on them and have wandered in anti-Christian ways.

II.

What does this Year of Penitence require of us?

It puts us before the Lord of glory crucified on the Cross and requires of every Christian soul penitence. Having remembered the goodness of Providence in his life, as well as his negligences and lawlessness, let every soul repent contritely and change his life from darkness to light. He who has done evil let him refrain from evil, till evil has been wholly stifled in him. He who has left off fasting let him return to fasting, as an extraordinarily helpful means of bodily and spiritual health. He who has neglected prayer, let him light the extinguished lamps in his house; let him renew prayer to his all-highest Creator and the saints of God.

This Year of Penitence requires penitence not only from the individual, but also from the whole people.

Let all our people rouse themselves from spiritual somnolence and moral frailty. Let them cleanse themselves from sin. Let them bring to the Lord sacrifices of grace and goodness. Let the penitents in the course of this year go in smaller or larger groups, to our numerous shrines, monasteries, pious foundations of their kings and saints, many many heroes of spirit and virtue. With the people—both the heads of the people, priests and clergy, men and women teachers, and all the descendants of those steel characters of Ustanak, all sons of Prince Lazar of Kosovo, all spiritual sons of St. Sava. Let them in pilgrim throng fill all our land with spiritual song and thankful prayers.

III.

Let us ask ourselves, what profit will this Year of Penitence bring to us?

All possible benefit, both heavenly and earthly if only we understand its summons, and fulfil its demands. We expect, dear brethren and children, that this year will bring a general awakening from the sleep of sin; the calming of strife; the opening of eyes to the spritual, heavenly world; moral purification and regeneration of our whole life, personal, social, and national. This cannot be achieved by any earthly power, or any external reform and reorganization of national life. This can be achieved only by the grace and power of God, this very tireless and inexhaustible heavenly power, which has shown this wonder countless times till now in penitent sinners, individuals and nations. Apostolic witness says: we all who with open face behold the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same likeness from glory to glory as from the Spirit of the Lord. What does this mean, except that a fundamental transformation of people and nations is firstly possible, and secondly—possible only with Christ and through Christ! They who look at His glory, are transformed into His likeness.

This is the Year of Penitence. Let every soul awake and look at the life-giving Cross of Christ. There is no sickness, which this Cross does not heal. There is no evil power which does not flee from it.

Christ is our life and salvation in both worlds. If we turn to Him, all problems will be easily solved. For we shall not solve them, but He.

If we believe in Christ, all the wounds of humanity will be quickly healed. For earthly weakness will not heal them, but heavenly power. He will heal them, who is at the same time Healer and Remedy. AMEN.